

**WOMEN  
TRASHING  
WOMEN**  
P.56

**LAST LETTERS FROM KANDAHAR**

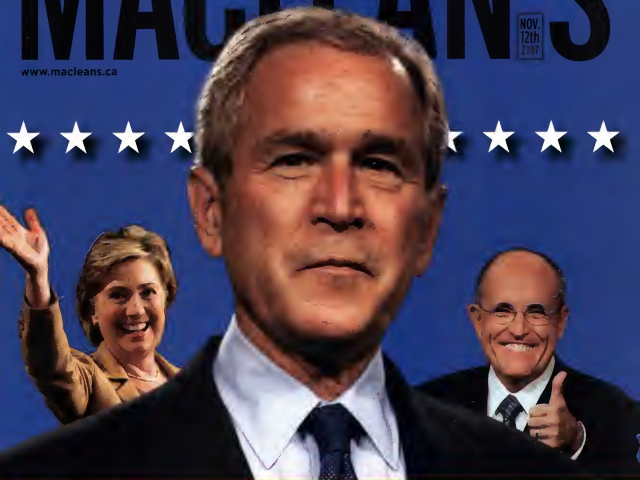
**'If you are reading this, I'm sorry but  
I will not be coming home' P.26**

**UP TO THEIR  
ASPERS**  
P.42

# MACLEAN'S

www.macleans.ca

NOV.  
12th  
2007



## THINK HE'S SCARY?

**How the next U.S. president could be worse P.36**

\$5.95 PM 40070230 R 08973



**BACK FROM THE DEAD AT 28,000 FEET P.14**

Be anything but obvious



THE WATCHMAN: ALEXANDER MCKAY; THE SILHOUETTE: JAMES HARRIS



**TUDOR**  
TUDORWATCH.COM

CHRONOGRAPH

Tell-talking mechanical movement. Swiss-certified engraved automatics. Steel, leather, crystal, ceramic. From \$1,200. \$1,200 to \$1,200. \$1,200.

THIS WEEK

**Interview**

**14 BATTLES EVEREST**  
Australian climber Lincoln Hall talks to Bruce D. Johnson about hallucinations, angry Sherpas, and being left for dead at 29,000 feet

**Columbo**

**10 CAPITAL MARY**  
Mitchell Repke on what's really in Don's knapsack and the new Tony trendsetter

**TI SCOTT FESCHKE**

To stop Minority Helper (a.k.a. Happy Show), Dean and Layton are going to have to strike a deal

**12 ANDREW POTTER**

Will have Harper to thank for an era of gangster separation

**National**

**16 EXIT DATE: 2017?**  
Afghans need security, but that's been slow in coming. How long will Western forces really have to stay in their country?

**26 LAST LETTERS HOME**

If you are reading this, I'm sorry, but I will not be coming back home. In Remembrance Day tributes featuring the messages our troops sent home to friends and family before they died

**34 SURPLUS PARTY**

Jim Haberly reveals in a long-overlooked moment a juicy package of tax cuts

**38 NOT FIT FOR OFFICE?**

Until his abrupt resignation, Liberal MP Blair Wilson was one of the party's golden boys. What happened? Alberta Premier Ed Stelmach is riding high following his middle-of-the-road decision on royalties

**MACLEAN'S**  
VOLUME 120 NUMBER 44, NOVEMBER 12, 2007 • SINCE 1908

7 Pages the Editors 5 Mail Bag  
8 Seven Days 16 Week in Pictures

**NOVEMBER 12-19, 2007**



P.56

Why won't the terrorists stop attacking on British?

**THE BACK PAGES**

**56 Media**

Women bashing women: How gossip rags really work

**60 Film**

The Black Power movement gets its own Godfather

**62 Books**

Jan Wong hurts down the student she betrayed 35 years ago

**63 Music**

In opera looks matter: Just not 'humiliant' Joseph Kasser

**65 Taste**

Olympic oysters: a playful reveal for the 2010 games

**66 Food**

The Saragat's a French divorce, American-style

**66 The End**

Ed Schellenberg, 1953-2007

Or the courts: George W. Bush—what his successor be worse?

**World**

**56 COVER STORY WHO'S NEXT?**

Think the world is going to be safer when George W. leaves the White House? Think again.

**41 A KAZAKH FEUD**

The underbelly of Kazakhstan: a ruling family, banning 'sexual pollution' in brief? the 'Islamic' uncover an old wound

**Business**

**42 ITZY'S KIDS**

When CarWest's Israel Asper died in 2005, he left an empire in decline. How Len, David and Dore are trying to keep their dad's dreams alive. Can they do it, or is it time to bring in an outsider?

**50 COMPETITIVE GIVING**

Charities are spending millions on swing bags to show donors who love them most with its new operating system. Apple plans to take a bigger bite of the PC pie

**Health**

**51 TRYING THE KHOT**

If you're a young woman, tubal ligation may be your best option for a life without kids. The hard part is finding a doctor to do it for you

**History**

**62 DREAMS TO DIE FOR**

From Iraq to the French Revolution, the utopian urge is driven by faith

**Newsweekers**

**34 SURFING WITH OSAMA**

Beirut's champion surfer, Jihad Khodr stars things up by riding the waves atop a board emblazoned with bin Laden's name. See Nikolay Deyanov gets tired for not trying hard enough. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono turns Indonesian politics into a karaoke contest

**MACLEAN'S.ca**

**Magopundit** Chris Selley's daily link through Canada's up-and pages [www.macleans.ca/magopundit](http://www.macleans.ca/magopundit)  
**Blog Central** The complete Maclean's.ca blog roster [www.macleans.ca/theblog](http://www.macleans.ca/theblog)  
**The Writing** Stephen Soler has all the news you need to read [www.macleans.ca/theblog](http://www.macleans.ca/theblog)  
**Seven Pages** The writing Scott answers your queries on current events and life in general [www.macleans.ca/sevendays](http://www.macleans.ca/sevendays)  
**Maclean's 50** Canada's leading voices comment on the major stories as we cover them [www.macleans.ca/macleans50](http://www.macleans.ca/macleans50)





# MORE FUEL-EFFICIENT VEHICLES THAN THE COMPETITION WOULD CARE TO ADMIT.



Chevrolet Malibu  
2.4L I4 16V  
EPA 23/32/34



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38



Chevrolet Malibu  
2.4L I4 16V  
EPA 23/32/34



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38



Chevrolet Malibu  
2.4L I4 16V  
EPA 23/32/34



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38



Chevrolet Malibu  
2.4L I4 16V  
EPA 23/32/34



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38



Chevrolet Malibu  
2.4L I4 16V  
EPA 23/32/34



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38



Chevrolet Malibu  
3.5L V6  
EPA 21/30/38

TO ADMIT.

In Canada, GM currently offers more fuel-efficient models than any other automaker. A total of 35 models with a highway fuel-efficiency rating of 7L/100km (40 mpg) or better. Visit [greenbydesign.gm.ca](http://greenbydesign.gm.ca) for the whole story on our fuel-saving technologies.



MAIL BAG

## 'By the way, dollar stores sell aluminum water bottles that look just like the pricey ones, at you guessed it, \$1 each. But how safe are any of them?'

encourages meat shops, chemical dumping and corruption. In short, the capitalist component of consumer typically takes over their social conscience in the cash register. **Mark Soudilov, Belleville, Ont.**

### 'ALLEGED' GENOCIDE

YOUR ARTICLE TITLED "To explain the disputed genocide claims by Armenians and the Turkish reaction, but the headline gives the impression of a factual genocide ('Genocide denied' World, Oct. 29). In fact, there is tremendous debate over the issue and, despite political lobbying, the alleged genocide has not been proven historically. The Armenians have used every avenue, including terrorism, to reach their goal. But they don't bring their genocide allegations before the International Court of Justice in The Hague because genocide allegations are unsupported by historical facts—archives, official documents and witness testimonies reveal a different story than the Armenian version of what happened almost a century ago in Constantinople. The U.S. and many other countries, it is unfortunate that the Armenian diaspora's political power and influence transforms many policies into false histories. By believing one-sided stories of the diaspora, these politicians think they have the knowledge and authority to give the Armenians a stamp of approval. Why is it they support the Armenian allegations? It is because Armenians are Christian and Turks are not? Or is it because there are tens of thousands of Armenians in their countries and many very few Turks?

**Reem Hameer, Kingston, Ont.**

YOUR ARMENIAN genocide denial story was good, but was focused on the Armenian diaspora and missed exploring the views of the people in Armenia. The genocide resolution is continuously pushed in U.S. Congress. Your story referred to the consensus why this is happening. What your story missed is that the central problem of this issue will have to happen between the people of Armenia and Turkey and not foreign politicians. Turkey and Armenia should immediately establish diplomatic relations that will start a genuine dialogue. It will take time, but there is a long history of closeness and tolerance between

these two peoples. Armenians, the oldest Christians in the world, were the architects of mosques in the Ottoman Empire. And for the last two years, Turks voted for an Armenian singer at the Eurovision Song Contest. **Gerry Jakubyan, Ottawa**

### WATER WOES

PERHAPS YOU CAN clarify something regarding the water bottle debate ("Plastic bottles get the nod here," *Environews*, Oct. 11). In the story you describe the pricey bottles as being stainless steel. However, in the caption next to the picture you describe the stainless-steel ones as being \$1 each. By the way, dollar



STOCKS of the diaspora are one-sided, a reader says.

stores also sell aluminum bottles, and they look just like the expensive version, at you guessed it, \$1. They have a gold coating on the inside, I assume to protect the beverage from direct contact with the aluminum. But how safe are these aluminum versions with respect to Alzheimer's? Are we trading one risk for another? **Rocky Romanuk, Stouffville, Ont.**

### MISSION POSSIBLE

THIS MATTER of Canadian sovereignty in the Far North is a very topical subject these days, and while Sen M. Mulcahey's account of the 1958 discovery of the Russian Yn-36 jet bomber on North Pole 6 was an extremely interesting, I found it to be somewhat off the mark ("73 The quest was west out in the cold," *World*, Oct. 29). As a young RCMP officer, I participated in negotiating the Laptev Sea and from North Pole 6 and in photographing the Russian bomber aircraft. Centuries to Mulcahey's account, when we departed Alert for the ice island, there was no doubt about what our mission involved. Still in advance of our Ottawa departure for the north, our

## GO GREEN. FASTER.

GET ONE OF OUR FUEL-EFFICIENT VEHICLES SOONER WITH THE GM® CARD



Getting into a greener GM vehicle is easier than ever thanks to The GM Card®. It's the no-annual-fee credit card that lets you earn the equivalent of 3% of your eligible purchases toward an eligible GM new car or truck. Use your Earnings (subject to Vehicle Redemption Allowances) to reduce the total purchase price or lease down payment by up to \$3,500 on over 200 eligible new GM vehicles. And you can even combine your Earnings with any current GM Canada offer. So don't wait. Join over 1 million GM Cardholders, and start earning some green today.





## DOUBLE UP.

Fast-track to more privileges with Delta Hotels' double deal promotion.

From October 15 to December 16, 2007, as a Delta Privilege member you can count each stay with Delta Hotels as two to help you reach the next level in our Delta Privilege program. Plus, you earn Double Aeroplan® Miles with each stay.\*

Always at 15+ nights? Stayed at three or more Delta properties? With this promotion, the more stays with us you make you earn a Delta Privilege Platinum Plus membership in 2008. Platinum Plus is a whole new level of exclusive rewards. Enjoy additional benefits such as Triple Aeroplan Miles, selected upgrades at time of reservation and \$500 dining or room credit.

It's just about the easiest way to double your return on investment.

Book your next reservation by visiting [www.deltahotels.com/doublepromo](http://www.deltahotels.com/doublepromo), or call us at 1-800-268-1133.

Not a Delta Privilege member? Sign up at [www.deltaprivilege.com](http://www.deltaprivilege.com) and start earning double.



Delta Privilege

aeroplan

\*Applies to standard rooms at Delta Hotels. Excludes Delta Hotels by Marriott, Delta Hotels by Hilton, and Delta Hotels by Expedia.

cow was clearly landed on the situation at North Pole 6 and even when military intelligence expected from air photographs the bomber from a carefully established altitude as the physical dimensions of the aircraft could be determined and get the number location from the tail section. If there was any surprise when

Milosevic states that North Pole 6 was drifting in Canadian waters. My recollection is that was drifting inside the Russian sector. This is supported by the decision taken to launch the sortie from Alert rather than from a more southerly location. Bay Area, the direction of the flight (recorded in any log book) was



RUSSIANS in Canada: a former RCAF officer tells a different story

we arrived at the ice station, it was to find the bomber parked alongside a DC-1 aircraft. After a quick low level run over the bomber in real time photograph the identification on the tail section, we climbed to a five hundred feet and, using the vertical camera, simultaneously photographed both aircraft. The DC-1 provided a near-perfect scaling factor for determination of the bomber's dimensions. Within a matter of minutes of our arrival at the ice station, we were on our way back to Alert.

sufficiently long to support our bombing mission to and from a point well within the Russian sector.

Finally, I can state that from the crew's perspective, the flight to and from North Pole 6 was pretty much routine, not the harrowing journey suggested by Milosevic. Perhaps someone not directly familiar with those four fabulous Rods-Bayes Merlin engines might conclude that a 10-hour flight over the Arctic Ocean in 1958 had to be harrowing. Larry C. Wiley, Niagara, Ont.

### IN PASSING

David Adams, 79, dancer. He performed with the Sadler's Wells Ballet in London, England, where he was: Colin Fennell. He later returned to Canada and became principal dancer with Prince's new National Ballet. As well as being a noted choreographer, Adams performed with numerous European companies.

Robert Goulet, 75, American-born, Canadian-based baritone most famous for his signature song, "If Ever I Should Come Back," which he performed 47 years ago alongside Richard Boone and Jill Andrews in the Broadway musical *Carousel*. Goulet was diagnosed with pulmonary fibrosis last month and was awaiting a lung transplant at a Los Angeles hospital.



## A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF THE DALAI LAMA

On Monday, the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader was warmly welcomed by Prime Minister Stephen Harper on Parliament Hill, much to the chagrin of Chinese officials who called the meeting a "gross interference" in China's internal affairs, and accused Harper of "disgracing his business." On Tuesday, the 78-year-old monk blessed a new Tibetan cultural centre in Toronto. On Wednesday, he was scheduled to lecture a crowd of thousands on "The Art of Happiness" at the Rogers Centre.

### Good news

#### Loonie tunes

The date-ratist Jim Flaherty, finance minister, rose Tuesday in Parliament to deliver his fall economic statement. He was buoyed by such a flood of cash his hand almost slipped the coil. Last year's surplus came in at \$4.6 billion above the predicted \$9.2 billion mark. In fact, the surplus hit \$5.7 billion in the first five months of the fiscal year. Then there were more good news: dollar, strong with 50-year highs. Numbers like that are helping Flaherty's Conservatives make a decent case for a second term.

Of course, we did not expect squabbles over how he intends to make use of the extra cash (see page 14)—but it's a nice piece to have.

#### Saving face

It stored our members' heads with us, so we could be the treasurer of religious and cultural minorities in Canada. The federal Conservative government introduced legislation requiring voters to reveal their faces when voting, unless they are a medical, rather than a religious, reason for a face to be covered. The law closed an unpopular loophole that allowed Muslims women to vote and maintain their traditions simultaneously in a separate manner, however, we finally witnessed some common sense when the head of a Quebec Quebecer's body demanded a Parti Quebecois proposal to force immigrants to learn French in a public school. After, remarkable accommodations.

#### Halloween prevails

Stephen Colbert was right: there is no such thing as a free lunch. U.S. officials came under fire for allowing lead-contaminated water in China from the country. A school in Long Island burned at least 100 children for three days of school last year. Despite it all, we were allowed to see the state's new ability to run Halloween for millions of Canadian children this year.

#### A rip-off, but healthy

Just in time for November, Canada's National Health Food Month, a major European-funded study has shown that organic foods contain more antioxidants and less fatty acids than

#### No accounting for it

It is the privilege of the auditor general to deliver bad news about the use of our tax dollars, and these years are not exceptions. On Tuesday, the auditor general's report on the use of our tax dollars, and these years are not exceptions. On Tuesday, the auditor general's report on the use of our tax dollars, and these years are not exceptions. On Tuesday, the auditor general's report on the use of our tax dollars, and these years are not exceptions.

### FACE OF THE WEEK



SWIFT VICTORY: Argentina's former first lady Cristina Fernández de Kirchner becomes the country's first female president-elect

#### Chaos continued

It has been a bloody month in Pakistan. On Oct. 18, at least 140 people were killed in Karachi by a bomb targeting former PM Benazir Bhutto. On Tuesday, a

### Bad news

#### No accounting for it

It is the privilege of the auditor general to deliver bad news about the use of our tax dollars, and these years are not exceptions. On Tuesday, the auditor general's report on the use of our tax dollars, and these years are not exceptions. On Tuesday, the auditor general's report on the use of our tax dollars, and these years are not exceptions.

#### No good deed...

It was a horrible week for celebrities and others who called for aid on President Pervez Musharraf's life. Unfortunately, Pakistan intelligence agencies are warning of more violence to come, and ailing possible aid on the ground by Taliban and al-Qaeda sympathizers.

#### But not that friendly

Passengers on the first flight of Singapore Airlines' Airbus A380 paid up to \$10,000 for luxurious, cradle-like berths, complete with double beds, Dore's Benjamin and lobster. Sound romantic? Well, don't get your idea. There will be no "inappropriate activity" in those berths, the airline has ruled. It's an unreasonable demand, since they're the only ones who would be there in the first place. But it's not surprising, considering everything else the industry has done to make things as frustrating as possible. ■

PHOTO: GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY

## MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON WHAT'S REALLY IN DION'S KNAPSACK, AND THE NEW TORY TRENDSETTER



DION? FUNNY? WHO KNEW.

At this year's parliamentary press gallery dinner, the PM said GG were no-shows. A few Tories did come deeper than Conservatives were being subtly influenced not to attend. Gillian Dissuague hasn't been back since 1999, when he was pelted with dinner rolls (perhaps they should have been croutons) after he failed to deliver what all party leaders are expected to do at this event: a comedic speech. So it all came down to the only leader present, Dion, who was the first leader to pounce on an address one of Ottawa's toughest crowds. "Who's shattering now?" he shouted down to Jack Layton, who was beamed when it was announced that he would not be speaking. Layton later charged his mind and gave an impromptu speech. Dion started his speech by walking onstage with his signature leather knapsack at death-row status played. He revealed what he really keeps in that bag: a copy of English Grammar for Dummies, his autographed Dionne Warwick album, and a "surprised" to find John Mulaney's name in there and just tossed it. (The

former Liberal cabinet minister recently decided to join the PM's Afghanistan tour.) Dion then revealed that he had confiscated from Liberal MP before their last caucus meeting a bunch of letters fell from the bag when he tossed it upside down. Be from the evening, one Liberal said, "Making Stephen Dion feel like trying to do it [Liberal dinner] cause craps!" John McCallum preys? But Dion was a little Capital Diary is looking forward to McCallum's rehearsal.

## FREE LOOT BAGS? OUT OF MY WAY!

After a vote on the Ontario Speech on Oct. 24, MPs headed in from each other in a line as they tried to get into the Commons, the annual event where the confederate lobby acts as a candy store for kids on lock up an event and MPs can pick up huge loot bags. One staffer from the Tory staff office dressed her child as a pimp. Another youngster was Ontario premier Dalton McGuinty, complete with Liberal banner and long plastic Pissed-as-hell nose.

## LAUREN HARPER'S PHOTO BEATS PM'S BALLS

Ottawa's chiefs once again came out on drafts to raise money for the Canadian Cancer Society and to honor Kurt Wicks, the executive chief of the National Arts Centre since 1973, who was



"MILKSHAKE" where Ottawa staffers' kids dress as pimps and Liberal premiers, and the MPs both in line for free candy loot bags

recently diagnosed with cancer. Chris at the NAC event included Oliver Bennett from 24 Sussex and Emma Maloney's former chief John Lefkowitz. The latter admitted he still has picked up his former boss's newsgroup book *Monsters* (1998-1999), but he has a copy of *Silly Amusement* (1992 book about Mills Maltency, 1946), which someone had, and which he found for 25 cents. Deals were to be had at a silent auction that night, too. Items included a photo of a foggy Ottawa River taken by Lauren Harper and a look down from 24 Sussex, as well as a Stephen Harper hockey puck and four orange penne restaurant ball hockey balls complete with a 194 and Mrs. Harper's photo sent for \$150, while the balls and puck brought in a mere \$15.

The NAC was also the site of the Afghan staff fundraiser, headed by Tory whip by Bill and his wife, Leah Meehan, for Afghan soldiers. Nearly 3000 came, sold, raising \$24,000. "You can never have too much grey," said Tory cabinet minister Norm Macdonald, who went through the gift pile after seeing Stockwell Day and Speaker Peter Mulaney is trying on scarves, she added. "Drop it



SPEAKER Peter Mulaney in a suit, staff a new parliamentary trend?

yourself speaker was CBN's Larry King, whose speech was just a string of canned personal recollections. The 77-year-old broadcaster recounted his childhood, including his years in the army, and right, and added, "I was done without Viagra." M

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa outlets or to contact Mitchel Raphael, visit [mitchelraphael.com/mitchelraphael](http://mitchelraphael.com/mitchelraphael)

## Two Mr. Wrongs could make a right



SCOTT FESCHUK

John Chretien was three wrongs together governments. I mention this because if you read his new book or talk to any of his former staffers, it's certainly possible that four whole pages or upwards of 28 seconds will pass without that last being repeated, and I wouldn't want you to forget, just to be safe. I should mention it once more: John Chretien was three (unhappy) governments in a row—as in "consecutive," as in, "Fat is, Paul Martin."

Sure, the victories came against a divided right, which in Canada is like fighting an opponent who has one hand and behind his back and the other wrapped around his throat, with both feet kicking his own ass. And sure, each of those elections could have been won by a bilingual catastrophe. But the message of Chretien's book is clear: to the victor go the spoils, and the victor, and appear only the overrated type and wide margin required to push the government's agenda to respect able 2007 pages.

Today, where centre left has divided and is unstable. The Liberals are in meltdown, the New Democrats are unrepresentative, the Greens are in that phase where they actually think people will vote for them. (God, you just want to say they're, they're so-called.) Today, if Stephen Harper who seems poised to repeat a victory.

But there's a way he can be stopped. Simply put, it's time for Stephen Dion and Jack Layton to make a deal. By the purest form of rational politics, two Mr. Wrongs just may make a right.

The precise contours of their arrangements are less important than the frame-shaking promise. But here are some broad strokes for starters. Dion should offer Layton cabinet seats in a Liberal-NDP coalition government (Ladies and gentlemen, your new minister of finance... Oliver Chow? Kidding, I'm kidding).

ding. None to Dion, seriously, don't twist that down.) And the Liberal leader should propose some form of strategic campaigning. Together, the parties can catch the discipline of the Conservatives' 2007 campaign by pledging to meet for or five narrow provinces, an immediate end to the Afghanistan mission (an obvious line that would tempt the NDP), more aggressive action on climate change, modest but specific measures to

the Liberal government, despite the fact that Martin was a) delivering on national child care and other NDP priorities, and b) apparently willing to meet Layton in any form at any time to negotiate common sense, or at least Spectatorism, or whatever Jack wanted. Layton never was enough blame for that decision—but it proved to be an opportunity.

New Democrats are provincies, with their lofty ideals and bad news. But the reality is that they've been sitting at the same distant corner of the House of Commons since Ed Broadbent wore short pants. The time has come to take a risk, to pursue the goal of not just staying afloat, but maybe actually getting to do some stuff.

Radical transformation isn't easy, but they can happen. Band with hard reality, Stephen Harper helped orchestrate the coming together of Canada's conservative parties. He engaged in the political equivalent of therapy with Gillian Dissuague. And he changed an image that for quite some time was dominated by the twin beams of his L.L. Cowboy Stare: people-centric and 100% of the time, I'm Gonna To Change My Image! out of his face and media shepherds.

## To stop Minority Harper (a.k.a. Happy Steve), Dion and Layton have to strike a deal

reduce poverty, and an aggressive plan to make non-secondary education accessible. Also free dogs for bays or wherever Layton Dion is always bellowing about.

Sure, the whole thing will split apart some point, as conditions and all marriage involving Larry King exist. But an alliance would give both leaders a much needed chance to change their fortunes, to dominate the news, to be seen to be working in the spirit of cooperation that they often refer to but never seem to truly embrace. Sure, Dion would be taking his leadership on the success of the venture—but right now he's leading his leadership on the success of himself. Using his tie to Jack Layton quality as an upgrade.

Don't think Layton will like? Well, I do. Here's a guy who in 2005 got the biggest whiff of the slightest notion that his party might possibly do marginally better in an election—and immediately brought it down

Want to know where New Democrats and Liberals are gradually increasing an agreement? It's in their view that the Harper as an issue, Minority Harper (a.k.a. Happy Steve), is unstable, and numbers compared to the Harper who would emerge as the aftermath of a majority win.

But if they truly believe Majority Harper will be the worst thing to happen in this country since someone took an impenetrable voice, Quinn Galt, "You have such a beautiful voice, Chris," then they have a duty to do everything they can to stop him.

Make the call, Mr. Dion. Grosseau may one day find yourself a footnote in Harper's autobiography of his conservative majority governments. M

ON THE WEB: For Scott Feschuk's take on the news of the day, visit his blog [www.rockandroll.com/feschuk](http://www.rockandroll.com/feschuk)



HARPER'S BALLS vs. Lauren's photo (the latter is worth a lot more)

# Thank Harper for an era of gangster separatism



When the final edition of the *Book of Canada* is written, Jacques Duhamel's, 1087 might well be remembered as the year that the country stopped even pretending to be a proper federation and began functioning along principles more akin to organized crime.

What distinguishes organized crime from the more common, unorganized, kind is that it looks and acts in many ways like a government. It exercises a form of sovereignty over a *geographical* part of the economy, flourishing in places or markets where the government is unable or unwilling to go—such as the leading docks of ports, or illegal establishments for gambling, prostitution and drugs. Most importantly, organized crime can only prosper when it is tolerated and even supported by the people, who don't trust the legitimate authorities and who value the security and services the mob provides.

Which brings us to the current state of federal-provincial relations and the corruption caused by Bill 193, better known as the *Quebec Identity Act*. Introduced by the Parti Quebecois, the bill calls for the drafting of a provincial constitution and the creation of a form of Quebec citizenship that would require immigrants to the province to learn French and demonstrate an appropriate appreciation of Quebec history and culture. Those who fail to do so would be all but disenfranchised—barred from holding public office, running funds for political parties, or participating in the legislature.

Everyone agrees that the bill has a real chance of becoming law, even if Jean Charest or Mario Dumais had any interest in supporting it; the Supreme Court of Canada would strike it down as unconstitutional. Indeed, Bill 193 has been denigrated by commentators inside Quebec as an entirely political gambit, aimed at re-establishing the languishing PQ as the chief defender of the

## Quebec identity

Qut in the ROC, the reaction has been just as dismissive, with added hyperbole. In the rush to condemn the PQ, the English-speaking media has triggered over itself, owing to come up with sufficiently hyperbolic adjectives. Devise one, say? I'll see you one saint, and make you a xenophobic.

Sure. But before we conclude that this is just another farcical farce from the francophone head of Quebecois racism, it's worth asking why anyone might have thought Bill 193 was a good idea in the first place, and why it has the support of 52 per cent of French-speaking Quebecers.

Stephen Harper probably thought he was being frightfully clever last November, when



**Separatism, like organized crime, flourishes in places the government is unwilling to go**

he had the House of Commons pass a resolution affirming that "the Quebecois form a nation within a united Canada." The deliberate use of the term "Quebecois" in the English version of the resolution was so carefully intended that it had the desired effect of laying a thick curtain of secrecy across the entire field of debate. Did it mean the Quebec state was an ethnic, but not a civic nation? Or did it mean French-speaking Quebecers formed some sort of "sociological" nation within the Canadian state? Who could tell?

However unapologetic Harper's actual intent was, though, the way it was interpreted within Quebec was entirely predictable. Not only had the federal government finally qualified what most Quebecers had long known—that they formed a nation—but the emphasis on the "Quebecois" could not but imply that this newly recognized nation was 1) French-speaking, 2) based entirely on Quebec, and 3) none of Ottawa's concerns or responsibilities.

It is precisely to avoid that kind of conse-

quential separatism that, when Quebec nationalists first showed signs of posing a serious threat to the country, the federal Liberal under Prime Trudeau launched a pan-Canadian nation-building project, centered on the federal government. Beginning with the Official Languages Act of 1969, the path led to reuniting Canada as a bilingual country, with Ottawa as both guarantor and defender of both aspects of that duality.

Despite what you'll read in the right-wing pages of the *Canadian* and its pages, this wasn't some sinister biggie-er-eggs. When Trudeau declared that "in Canada you belong on the same page" ("Canada will be bilingual and it will stay"), he wasn't engaging in starmy-eyed Trudeauism. He knew that the feds would always lose the romantic battle of flags, symbols, and songs, and he was simply making a clear-eyed prediction of what would happen if the provincial government in Quebec City was allowed to replace Ottawa as the defender of the interests of French-speaking Quebecers.

That is more or less what has happened now. You can give that Quebecers notice whatever "ethnic" or "sociological" you like, but the fact remains that the members of this nation now have no choice but to look

to Quebec City and only to Quebec City for protection of their rights and interests. Ultimately, this nation will want its own constitution and a reasonable facsimile of Ottawa's. Bill 193 may be a bit too much to hit too soon, but it doesn't make us much to see which way the flags are blowing. Since the provincial Liberals, the ADQ, and the PQ differ only on the degree of their nationalism, it is only a matter of time before they hit upon a formula for Quebec citizenship they can all agree on.

And when they do, it will hardly matter that the proposal is "unconstitutional." When it comes to Quebec, Ottawa is like the magical police force that is too afraid to go into the crime-ridden parts of the city because it is too dangerous. And there is no such thing as a political vacuum. So where the lights are out, nobody won't go the province will be more than happy to step in. With the full and enthusiastic support of the people. ■

**ON THE WEB:** For more Andrew Potter, visit his blog at [www.macleans.ca/andrewpotter](http://www.macleans.ca/andrewpotter)

1. How do you remove more plaque?
2. How do you optimize brushing?
3. How do you reduce gingivitis?
4. How long should you brush?
5. When should you replace your brush?
6. When should you shift quadrants?
7. What's a quadrant?

**Don't know the answers?  
This toothbrush does.**



Oral-B Triumph with SmartGuide is the most "SMART" toothbrush ever. Its wireless guidance system even tells you when you're brushing too hard. And its Preset timer built deep to help remove gingivitis. Any questions?

**Oral-B TRIUMPH SMART GUIDE**  
Brush like a Dentist®

\*vs. a regular manual brush







## CHAMPAGNE GLASSES

So much for spontaneous celebration. The world champion Boston Red Sox couldn't wait to douse each other with cheap champagne—but not until everyone finished their blue safety goggles first. To be fair, the bubbly stings, and those are some valuable eyelids (\$74.2 million worth, to be exact). And they were as focused as ever during the World Series, too (the 23 runs is a four-game sweep of the Colorado Rockies). **DARIO J. PEREZ/REUTERS**



us) to ask the locals what they could use or any improvements to local infrastructure or other help.

Simply having any ISAF bases in one work for the soldiers involved. They plan meticulously, look and build their weapons at the same time, and avoid the place to escape or reports are unreliable about. Our first morning drive involved a planned mission plan, even with assumed Hammarvee trails with semi-mounted machine guns (pass that wall, it must be built, because my protection and I needed transport and protection), and "very intelligent civil centers."

**BEACHING OUT** Traveling patients at a medical clinic in Kandahar, Afghanistan. The clinic is run by the Canadian Forces and is located near the town of Peshawar in Kandahar province, southern Afghanistan.



at any sign of trouble the soldiers were to retreat with the rest of us in tow. On this day, my fighting force was left to "see it through." The base commander, Lt. Col. James Brantley, said, "We're going to purpose-designed combat teams."

To be on the safe side, the village of Mard Khan Kaley were put out to expect at. The rest, the first from coalition troops that anyone could recall, would be a surprise. The Taliban are active in the region. On the highway we drove past a half-dozen burned out hulks of transport trucks, part of what Brantley called a "Taliban information operation" designed to deliver no more "information than 'Boo!'"

At the village the Hammarvee didn't go in an open area and pointed the gun barrels outward. An Afghan interpreter, who had been told where he would be riding used the trip before, translated as Staff Sgt. Marco Vitoja opened a half-dozen village gates.

For years those morning had been interrupted by a column of war-torn Afghans, soldiers, the men of Mard Khan Kaley had killed it all with impunity. They could use us

irrigation ditches and a footbridge that didn't wash out every winter, they said. Big supply for their modest crops would help. A close, here or nearby, would be appreciated. And the school was usually closed because the Taliban have "night letters" on school doors, warning them of reprisals if they show up.

While we used the village to make these contacts to the governor of Zabul. The village was destroyed. No, we, they said. The interpreter explained: "They don't trust the governor. They'll trust you guys, but not the governor."

Which is nice to hear, unless you'd like to

weekly, in the beginning, to rub a bunch of these guys in. He's totally broken. He's just sitting over the gang rape of his country."

The Western forces want what insurance they can. The British and Dutch aside the removal of the old government of Helmand and Uruzgan a prohibition of their forces' deployment in those provinces, but ISAF is trapped by its own alleged mission. Helmand is the last village, the coalition is advancing in continuing and developing its work as a policy supporting the local role of the Afghan government. "Everything we do is Afghan-led, GDA-led," one general said,



referring to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

But nobody would want to take on the risk of what is done in the government's name. The Afghan National Army is making considerable progress. But the Afghan police force, as selected for too long by coalition planners, is a wreck.

There is no tradition of impartial, professional policing in Afghanistan to begin with. Police were local bodies, doing out intimidation, extortion, revenge and occasionally even rough justice in the manner of Gerni. Had a man's daughter in the Cote d'Ivoire western film *Unforgotten*. Because help from outsiders has been plentifully close in coming.

In December 2001, the United Nations gave support roles to key tasks to coalition governments. The British would be responsible for helping control illegal drugs, privately owned and honest, the Americans would help build the army, the Indians would reorganize the judiciary, the Japanese would train irregular militias, and the Germans would train the police.

A Swiss/German from the east, an European official said last week. Countries not named in charge of these missions are used to have no way to push in. Countries that are given the missions were supposed to be outside help. The Germans put their effort into training senior police managers well. Ordinary cops

had little or no training. By last year it was clear the police were sharking hard jobs and claiming money off the top. The Americans knew by trial making police officers through two-week training courses. "That was probably worse than nothing," one commander in Kandahar said. Only last year there has been a concerted push by the Americans, the Canadians and other coalition forces to devote at least as many resources to police training as to the army.

It can be said that Afghan police do not have it easy, far from it. They are notoriously ill paid, though salary reform has improved their lot somewhat within the past year. With ISAF forces hampered down and well protected, the police have become choice targets for insurgents. By some accounts 1,000 police have been killed this year, a double last year's figure and 30 times the army's casualty rate.

Underpaid and hung out on the street with targets on their backs, many officers gather outside while they wait. And there is a lot of money running around Afghanistan: billions of dollars, of course, from the opium trade. But the Afghan government's own Drug Anti Corruption Strategy also flags "unprecedented inflows of aid," with pressure to spend it quickly and often for financial records, in another source of ready cash. Police checkpoints have become such a lucrative source of bribery income that the

Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the British legal adviser to RC South, but the army and correction system are "shorter legs of a three-legged stool." As he would for toughened-down occasional growing pains from many changes, a typical British judge came seven times his country's average salary. His Afghan counterpart pulls down something like \$10 a month, less than half what the semi-literate employees of South China's busy fast-food industry make. They have to decide whether to send in some criminals, many of them battle-hardened battle-hardened, capable to be overcrowded that one prisoner must come out for each that enters. Other countries come out the back end and telephone the police or judges who put them in the front.

"I'm not sure and I know where you are." All of these vices, Davies said, "undermine the government. And that's the very point of an integrity." In other words, the serious state of the Afghan government does a good part of the insurgents' work for them.

Chavez, the former judge said, ISAF's troop training centers need to incorporate lessons for the Afghan government and its

Afghan leadership. "We are gonna take the training wheels off the bicycle. The boys had better start pedaling."

The pernicious attitude of an overbearing Western soldier? Perhaps, but David Sulzberger would not have it. He is a prominent independent member of parliament, once, perfectly fluent in Pashto, a critic of Karzai's regime. "His guys have been seen on baby

aprons with the government," Sulzberger said. "You've been specifying them and they don't even want to do it."

**AFGHANS CANNOT TRUST THEIR GOVERNMENT. SOMETIMES THEY CAN'T EVEN FIND IT—AND THEY ALSO HAVE REASON TO FEAR IT.**

THE 2009-2010 election cycle represents a crucial test for Afghanistan's ability to govern itself and for the international community's ability to help. Sulzberger said "This nation has never had a smooth transition of power. If we once again push this guy [Karzai] down the nation's throat, we won't even be able to buy rice and say better leadership is coming. If we let them down this time, they will lose both democracy and any message that your nation is sending to this part of the world."

By this point, a lot of readers must be wondering



right to staff them is needed on the black market for local militias.

Here's a story that was reported to me as fact by one coalition general. A Canadian soldier is doing manual duty at a police headquarters near Kandahar. There are many Afghan police and an interpreter for the Canadian. That Afghan police officer pulls a car over and leaves it to drive with the driver. The Canadian asks the interpreter what's going on. The interpreter explains: "It says, 'See that Canadian soldier? If you don't give me money he's going to shoot you.'"

The police may be bad, argues Lt. Col.



**REBUILDING** A historical reconstruction project in the Mard Khan district (left), new Afghan National Army soldiers at a graduation ceremony in Kabul in September provide some hope for the country's future.

front it with "a really consistent message." "You're screwing up our battle space by being a corrupt government. We are creating these Taliban for every Taliban we catch."

One high-ranking ISAF military officer had a similar thought. "I have long thought the message we should send to the Afghan people should be the voice of a coalition soldier holding a rifle in one hand and a shovel in the other and saying, 'We got the will and the capability to use either.' What would you have me use? Now I think it's unacceptable the life will be over and over and the message now should be, to the

being whether there is any point in Canadian troops even sticking around for the end of October. I want to stand around giving my impression that I would believe any answer so definitive as listed by the special interests of the force. I was in Afghanistan only for a few days, a guest of NATO, sleeping in ISAF barracks and hearing, for the most part, reports who had been selected for me. In a widely read Washington Post article in August, that paper's former Baghdad correspondent Jonathan Felter recalled the "Green Zone" of VBI who went into a war zone for a few days and came home regarding every-

one with Olympic proclamations about "What I Saw?" It is too accepting to succumb to the fallacy of the street alibi in the Hall of Fame Express commercial. I don't actually know how to defeat an insurgent, but I did sleep in an SUV barracks last week.

But for whatever it's worth, nobody talked to an Afghanistan war veteran in general, or Canadian forces in particular, to leave any time soon. This was true of the soldiers themselves, of their colleagues from other countries, of ordinary Afghans like the villagers of Morad Khon Koley, of the country's initiator of the seminar and of opposition politicians who think the Interior Minis-

terial is a "For me it wouldn't be hard, because, somehow, to come lend a hand here and then leave before we've finished the job."

Jahid Mohreri is a poet, with his two brothers, in Moby Madani, a Kabul man up there now, increasingly popular TV and radio newscaster. Moby's Zaka TV network has done hard-hitting investigative reporting, at real risk to its reporters' safety, in a government corruption. "I think if you asked, 'Should all international troops leave?' most people here would have a cryover," Mohreri said.

And while the danger and, in some corners of the country, the chaos have been increasing, so have the more promising signs. Afghan

presence in Afghanistan might be harmful to Afghans.

This option is respected on the ground, but is simply not widely shared. Five years' intense open troops in the level Canada has contributed. The Dutch army is ready to spread their own similar mission, but as they prepare to reduce their footprint by only a few hundred troops, they have had to scramble for replacements, a few Georgians here, a few Slovaks there.

In naming the high-level parallel by John Mader to go to Afghanistan and ask about our role there, Stephen Harper must have known that in a not particularly religious



**WHO HAS THE POWER?** When Hamid Karzai (left) became Afghanistan's president he didn't have the political strength to stand down the warlords, so he tried to co-opt them—a dangerous strategy, as Afghan politicians stand by a buffer of armed mercenaries

try in the worst in the Afghan government.

Just outside the main Kandahar base, I visited a former base for the Soviet occupation that now stands as the barracks for an Afghan security battalion being trained by members of Canada's Royal 22nd Regiment. Dave Querry, a bearded 35-year-old sergeant from Trois-Rivières, was showing Afghan colleagues how to stock and manage a supply depot.

Unlike the police, the Afghans, unlike up to the troop strength or the level of complex training it needs to operate alone, have been making significant gains. "If you will the it is then a bad guy somewhere up in the mountains near the Pakistan border, they go up there and they shoot and they don't back off if someone shoots back," one officer said.

Querry said he would rather have his buddies from the Van Doos at either shoulder if he goes into combat. But he has done some work with the Afghans and he will again, and they are worthy allies. He wants to stick around and finish the job of preparing them for heavy

war's GDP has doubled since 2002, so have average incomes. A Johns Hopkins University study shows that infant mortality, while still higher than in Chad, is at least down 18 percent in the last five years.

## NOBODY I TALKED TO IN AFGHANISTAN, WHETHER SOLDIERS OR ORDINARY AFGHANS, WANTS OUR FORCES TO LEAVE

This improvement in the quality of living, a UN official said, "is one of the key phenomena that has helped to underpin the continued consent for international presence here."

It is surprising how few first non-Canadians in Afghanistan, especially in the south, are with details of the Canadian military deployment: the particular contribution of Canadian troops, the punishingly

high level of Canadian casualties, the news and news of our domestic actions. Perhaps, Canada's civilian partners are worried. They recognize that Canadians have the right to decide the deployment of Canadian soldiers. They understand that much of the sentiment for pulling out of Afghanistan stems, not from concern over the cost to Canada, but from the nagging worry that

they, the first, are. Anyone asking the question in Afghanistan will be told, often and with fervor, that Canada's contribution is still needed.

It will not be an easy decision. The danger is high and the chance of success is far from sure. A setback, like the drug-financed election scenario, could scramble everyone's schedule. So it does no particular good to wonder how long Canada's mission should last, or to ask when our leader sign four years and another says 10. Neither can know.

The real question is whether and how long we are in or are we out? If we're in, we are to send the mission is done, and the Afghan army is strong enough and the police force closer to being set right after a half decade's neglect, and the length of that commitment may better be measured in decades than months. If we are waiting our time, if our presence does more harm than good, it is removed for us to leave our soldiers in the field a day longer.

Afghanistan has come so far from chaos and lies, well today, so far from peace that it is time for clear thinking and hard decisions. Canadians do the Afghan people no good, and anyone has no honour, if we shrink from these decisions. ■



# ENVIRONMENTALIST

## Shane is powering homes and businesses with waste from wood.

In the past, wood waste from local BC sawmills was burned into the atmosphere. Now, the Williams Lake Biomass Plant—the largest in North America—converts this waste into much needed electricity. Sawmill burners have been shut down, reducing the area's particulate emissions by 90%, and the plant prevents treated wood-ashes from entering landfills. It's just one of the ways EPCOR's employees and partners support excellence everyday, providing cleaner power, cleaner water and a cleaner future. Visit [epcor.ca/cleanenvironment](http://epcor.ca/cleanenvironment) to learn more.

A dramatic, low-key photograph of a hotel suite. A man in a white shirt and a long, flowing red cape is suspended in the air, holding the cape with both hands. Below him, a woman is lying on a dark, plush sofa. In the foreground, a coffee table holds a vase of red tulips and some papers. The background shows a dimly lit kitchen area with a warm light source. The overall mood is sophisticated and cinematic.

## SPACIOUS SUITES

ONE OF MANY FEATURES DESIGNED TO HELP YOU STRETCH OUT  
MASTER THE LONG TRIP™

[RESIDENCEINN.COM](http://RESIDENCEINN.COM)



## LAST LETTERS FROM KANDAHAR:



**'If you are reading this, I'm sorry, but I will not be coming back home.'**

## A Remembrance Day Tribute: What our troops sent home, before they died in Afghanistan BY MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI

**D**ennis Arnold met Raymond, her husband-to-be, as a regimental association dinner in 2003. She was supposed to be his friend's date. "But then I saw Ray from across the room and I thought, 'Oh, I'd like to get to know him,'" she says, smiling at the memory. "And at the same instant, he saw me." They were married on Nov. 19, 2005.

When Ray, a master corporal, deployed to Afghanistan last year, he messaged his wife nearly every day on MSN and the occasional text. His Edmonton home is often as he could. "I'm a constant worrier—I worry about everything," Donna says. "But Ray was very calm, very cool, very collected. Every time I talked to him, he always tried to make it sound like everything was okay. He never wanted us to worry." On June 24, 2006, an e-mail before he died, Arnold sent this e-mail to his wife. "I am looking forward to being home again so we can get on with our lives. I think about us together and starting our own family all the time, and I can't wait for it to happen."

Arnold left another note for Donna, this one on a compact disc. He gave the CD to a friend before he left Canada. If something ever happens, he said, give that to my wife. The day Donna heard the horrible news—that her husband was dead, killed when his LAV III hit while with a truck—she found herself knocked on the door, CD in hand. "I sleep with a key by my bed every night," she says of her goodbye letter. "But I haven't looked at it as probably a year. It sits there on the nightstand. I know it's there. I see it every night before I turn the light off. But I haven't looked at it."

Raymond's farewell note appears on these pages, alongside others from men and women sent to Canadian soldiers who would later die in Afghanistan. So much has happened about this mission, about the politics and posturing. And so much has been said about the 71 (and counting) Canadians buried here in flag-draped coffins. But these letters—urgent, personal and free of political rhetoric—are a lasting tribute to not only the individual soldiers, but to all men and women who serve in uniform. Madras's is honored to publish their words, and is grateful to these families who agreed to share them with the country. We hope these letters will help remind Canadians of just how much there is to remember this November 11.

### PRIVATE WILLIAM CUSHLEY, 21



Born in Port Lambton, Ont., Cushley was a member of the 1st Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment. The morning he deployed to Afghanistan, his mother Elaine, dropped him off at the bus. She promised not to cry—going as far as to let her only son know that her eyes would stay dry. Moments after Cushley climbed on board, his mom lost the major. He got off the bus, gave her one last hug, then left for Kandahar. On Sept. 3, 2006, Cushley was killed in a chaotic battle with the Taliban. Below is a copy of the handwritten note he left for his mother.

If you are reading this, I'm sorry, but I will not be coming back home. Thank you for everything you have done for me. I really do appreciate it.

You were always there for me even when I didn't want you to be. I have one last favour to ask you. In this envelope is two more letters, one for Donna, one for Randy. If you could please deliver them to them I would really appreciate it.

I just want you to know that I love you and that I thought heavily and did everything I could to come home.

(Do not weep too much, I will always be with you in heaven & again)

Love always & forever,  
Will

PS—you can keep the \$50! LOL.

### CORPORAL GLEN ARNOLD, 25



The night before he left Canada, Cpl. Arnold sent an e-mail to his family—his parents, his wife, his four children, his sister and his close friends. "The Arnold family was dealing with another tragedy at the time: Glen's nine-year-old nephew, Justin, was in hospital with severe burns. A 14-year version of the event, Arnold was a medical

instructor who had served in war-torn Sri Lanka and Bosnia Hercegovina. But the apex of his wounded nephew had him like nothing before. On Sept. 18, 2006, five weeks after he sent the e-mail before, Arnold was killed by a suicide bomber during a firefight in the Panjshir district of Afghanistan.

Subject: I'm on my way

Date: Fri, 21 Aug 2006 23:49:24-0400  
It's been a long time coming back to many including myself, not long enough. I have only hours before it is time to leave.

During my first away I have a few short words for mine.

Don, Helen and Shelby... I know that the three of you have started on the long road of healing. A tragic accident has occurred and you have found yourselves to be closer than you thought. Does this find that your kids love you more than you thought possible.

**'Jessica, you made me proud to call you my daughter. Connor, I hope you never forget me.'**

—CPL. GLEN ARNOLD

Malay and Jackson you see that Dad will do anything it takes for you. Don't worry about your family no one. That is my wish. I love you and am proud of the way you have handled everything so far. You are a real 11 soldier.

Meaning Dad. I find myself in a position that is tearing at your soul. You have a son and grandchildren who need you while you have to accept that you are separated from his family go on a mission rarely don't understand or support. I can only imagine the agony this causes. You have made the right choice though in staying at Death side.

Wayne, Lynn and Lance... you find yourselves seeing a brother die part on a mission that has more than its share of tragedy. This is widely public in the media. The question will this happen to your family, a tragic spotlight on a place for anyone to find the answers





But,

I know that the next battle will be behind you but I and you to be strong. Know that the positive made me very happy in the time that we spent together. Though we had our hard times, we always came through stronger than ever, and that's how I see you after this as well. Life goes on, and I do not want you to stay living over though I have. Always remember that I will never win. I will never win, and you to be happy. I wish things could have been different, but I don't make the rules. I am trying to think of something to start to say right now but writing this is harder than I thought it would have been. Take care my love, I will always be with you in your thoughts and dreams, whenever you need me.

Love Ray

(This letter was written for friends and family.)  
Shouldn't it be read that there were two happened and I have died. I ask only that people try to understand what I was trying to do, and to not be mad or hate the army for something that has happened to me. As much as I may complain about the army at times I truly have been a part of something bigger. All my life I begged my parents about when I could have a brother, and here I have all the brothers I could want. This is the life I chose, and I would not swap it.

I am not going to rant on about all of the great people in my life because that would simply take too long. It is in writing this that I begin to realize that there must be a higher power out there because I am truly blessed. When the best friends I ever could ask for life long friends, and I love you. Dad, you have always been my hero, I always looked up to you and cherish how close we became. I am always proud to say that you are one of my best friends. Jessica, Amanda and Katie (okay Patricia), we've had our good and bad times all, but I never ceased to love you. How sad people everyone always was for each other, even if we didn't get to know each other as much as we wanted. And of course my wife Daria, I'm sure whose life purpose was to try and make me angry, and you're right, I loved every minute of it. The rest of my truly close friends, Dave, Chad, Brent, Rick, Kris, Grant, Barclay, Ash, Vinny and many others, I expect all of you to party to my Ray style, public and private, and share the happiness for our last good bash for me. Growing as necessary, but no one knows I loved to laugh, and I'd rather have that than anything. It's time for me to go off, have a good one, I'll keep the love and all we meet again.

And when he gets to the party go in, to meet people he will find.

Our new soldier reporting on, I received my time to find.

# CAPTAIN NICHOLA GODDARD, 36



Goddard was a hero to the Canadian army, a female infantry officer in command of an all-male platoon. Her friends called her "Cave Bear". Her husband was killed in Helmand. Once a week, Goddard would send a letter to her husband, Jason, about his life. The following note was written in March 4, 2006, 10 weeks before the capture was killed in a clash with Taliban insurgents. This day—May 27, 2006—Goddard became the first Canadian woman in uniform to die in combat since the Second World War.

lower (he called her two days. Sam and Phil, her "boys") sat in front of her laptop and wrote a detailed update to everyone on her email list, including her parents, Tim and Sally, and her brother, Jason. About the following note was written in March 4, 2006, 10 weeks before the capture was killed in a clash with Taliban insurgents. This day—May 27, 2006—Goddard became the first Canadian woman in uniform to die in combat since the Second World War.

Hello All,

I am afraid that this week's letter will be our last. I am not particularly cheerful. There is a lot to say, but most of it is pretty serious and depressing. But, you are all with me for good or for bad, so I'll launch into this week.

This week started off quite low. My crew and I went out for a couple of routine patrols around the area. They were uneventful. We got to fire off some mortar rounds at one of the targets and generally had a good time being gunners.

Early this week, I attended my second American funeral ceremony. The service was usually always to the front, except that it was emotionally much harder because the feeling that this wasn't going to be the last one was unavoidable. I'm not sure exactly how many American soldiers have been killed in the time between here and Iraq, but I know that it is in the 2,500s. It was difficult to accept how many of them they were about the whole thing. It was like looking at this man in a tank with a normal net, just like us. The time before it had been for American special forces guys—it was easy to think of them as different from "us". But this soldier was just like any one of us, and it was horrible. I was in the first row behind the American troops that were firing the mortar, and I could hear a couple of them crying. That was really tough.

Two days later, we attended the first Canadian funeral ceremony held in Helmand. This time, it was a soldier that I had been on and well worked with in Helmand. This time, I knew the public nature, and I was one of the soldiers lining the route. Our service was longer than the American one, but I found it very moving. The casket was draped in the parkie, and soldiers from his section acted as pall

bearers. The four Canadian soldiers serving in Helmand were in the front, and the procession moved onto the plane. I ask that your thoughts and prayers go with the young man's family. He is survived by his wife and two young daughters.

This week was also notable in the several IED strikes and confirmed rocket attacks against coalition vehicles and convoys. Overall, it was a very emotional and high stress week. Fortunately, the other personnel involved in both the vehicle rollover and attacks seem to be recovering well and we finished off the week without any other serious injuries. On a more personal note, I received my posting message to Wainwright, Alta. Jay and I will be going on a home hunting trip on my leave in June, looking at moving somewhere in August. I will visit work at the Operations Officer in the Canadian Museum Training Centre in mid-September. Jay and I know that it might happen, but it is now official. We are very excited, in our own "boys" in the thought of leaving our own house.

I don't want you to feel that I am depressed or dejected. Far from it. The longer that we are in Helmand and the more that we actually interact with the Afghan people, the more I feel that we are serving a purpose here. I think that these people, through the Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police, are trying to achieve some thing that we in Canada have long since taken for granted. They lay down their lives daily to try to make sure that a modern day Afghanistan is possible to define. It goes beyond of winning the war, and children being taught to read and write. The Afghan people have chosen who will lead them. There are new generations in Helmand.

**"The more we interact with the people, the more I think we are serving a purpose"**  
—CAPT. NICHOLA GODDARD

make Afghanistan a better place. I had never truly appreciated the immense power of a democratic government before. We are here to assist that legitimate and democratically elected government. It is my job to hold it in that respect and say that the system is in place and that violence and poverty mean people only targets for our own agendas. Those agendas are not, however, we have to start somewhere. With the help of institutions, we have started in Afghanistan. There is nowhere else that I'd rather be right now.

## Advertorial



## A Canadian tradition handed down from generation to generation

"In our family we've always said, 'Pay yourself first,' and I guess I'm still doing that. I'm 64, retired now, but I'm still buying Canada Savings Bonds."

John Stuker's Canada Savings Bonds carry across five generations and began when his father immigrated to Canada from Scotland shortly before the Second World War.

"I have a lifelong association with Canada Savings Bonds. My father thought that buying bonds was a good investment for him and for the country as well. He gave there to his three children every birthday. In doing so, he created a habit of saving for me and my two sisters."

John has passed along the Canada Savings Bonds habit to his daughter and to his grandchildren. He explains that giving a bond isn't the same thing as getting \$500 in a chequing account for them. "There's a reluctance to cash a Canada Savings Bond before it comes due," he says. "It teaches them the notion of patience. It's for something special or in case of an emergency."

John says he's used his bonds for many big-ticket items, including the down payment on a cottage and a home. His daughter used hers to help her with the down payment on her first house. Now John's grandchildren are discovering the value of Canada Savings Bonds.

"I tag CSR's as the fall and hold on to them until their birthdays. To them, it's just a piece of paper that they hand over to their parents, but my eldest granddaughter just

started at Ryerson University and it sure was nice to have those Canada Savings Bonds put away. She was surprised by how much money had accumulated. She might even get out of university without any debt," he laughs.

John continues to save using Canada Savings Bonds. "In our family we've always said, 'Pay yourself first,' and I guess I'm still doing that. I'm 64, retired now, but I'm still buying Canada Savings Bonds. I recommend buying them to anyone. They accumulate quietly and, before you know it, you might have enough to buy that new car or take that trip you've always dreamed about."

## Enter the Rogers Gift of Savings Contest

Do you have a personal story about giving or receiving a gift of savings? Share it with us and you could WIN a \$1,000 Canada Savings Bond. The story must be about the country — one from each province and territory — will be selected as winners.

Tell us your story at [www.giftsofsavings.ca](http://www.giftsofsavings.ca)



\*Contest brought to you by Rogers Publishing Ltd. and closes December 31, 2007. Contest is open only to residents of Canada, excluding Quebec residents (not a legal resident). Open only to persons 18 years and older who are not a gift of savings. There is one of 13 of 800 Canada Savings Bonds to be won as each province or territory. Multiple entries will be accepted. Open to all residents of Canada. No purchase necessary.

## Remember that I love you. Dad misses you. Give Mom my love and be good for her.'

—WARRANT OFFICER FRANK MELLISH, 36

It is not the critic who counts, nor the man who points out how wrong a town stands, or where the door of duty could have done better. The credit belongs to the man in the arena, whose face is marked by dust and sweat and blood, who arrives reluctantly—who stands limply in a worthy cause, who at best knows in end the triumph of high achievement, and who, at the worst, if he fails, at least finds while striving to go gloriously so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who have never known neither victory nor defeat.

—Theodore Roosevelt

### CORPORAL ANDREW EYKHALEBOOM, 23



Eykhaaleboom (everyone called him "Boomer") was a medic with 1 Field Ambulance, based in Afghanistan. He was injured to his leg in Aug. 11, 2006, but he refused to participate in one last supply run to be evacuated forward Operating Base (FOB). On Aug. 11, a suicide bomber attacked his company. Eykhaaleboom's family in British Columbia has now launched "Boomer's Legacy," a charitable foundation that raises money for Afghan people. "He definitely believed that Canada needs to be there," says his mother, Maureen. "And that's why, as a family, we said we have to continue to do something." Boomer sent the following email to his parents on May 2, 2006, three months before he died.

Hi Mom and Dad:

Everything here is still going fine, despite the massive increase in temperature. I just spent the last eight days in a FOB and will be going back very soon for another two weeks. It gets so hot out here now (50+) that I have to drink about 12 litres a day. The majority of it turned into sweat that pours off

my body. But for the most part things have been going good. My platoon got into a TIC (troops in contact) a few days ago but forgot about me as I was on OP (observation post) duty. They did alright without me though, and since the TIC was only two kilometres away I got a great night sleep.

Well, I finally got the platoon you have been waiting for. About two weeks ago a little girl brought her infant sister to the USG (a not random section) while I was on duty. She had several degree burns on her hand from touching a kettle. I bandaged her hand and after gave a doll that your friend made to her. She instantly stopped crying and started sucking on the nose of the doll. A special thanks goes from her older sister to your friend for such a wonderful gift and a thanks from me for being the one to accept her gratitude. Making the children happy is the most rewarding thing about this tour.

Love Andrew

### WARRANT OFFICER FRANK MELLISH, 36



During a recent training course, Mellish was asked to write a brief autobiography. He now married his life this way: "I have 'Survivor' and 'Dinner' over the years since 1961 have deployed to Somalia, Bosnia and Afghanistan. In my time I have been around the world and lived in some beautiful places. I have been loved and applauded. I have seen death and despair. I've been killed and grown. I've lived through horror and held onto hope. "A few days before he was killed during a ground offensive on Sept. 11, 2006, Mellish wrote this note to his two wives, Maureen and Renee.

Remember that I love you and that I'm over here because it's important. I don't want you to ever have to do it, and the little boys and girls here need protection too. Well, dad misses you. Give Mom my love and be good for her.

Love ya

Dad



### OPPOSING PEACE AND CULTURE NOT A GOOD IDEA

"I hope the entire world gets the message that attacking a 72-year-old pacifist Buddhist monk who advocates nothing more than cultural autonomy for his people is counterproductive," said Federal Secretary of State for Multiculturalism, Jason Kenney in Chinese government criticism of Prime Minister Stephen Harper and opposition leaders meeting with Tibet's 14th Dalai Lama this week in Ottawa.

### MASTER CORPORAL CHRISTOPHER STANLEY, 26



Last Christmas, a month before Christmas (left for Afghanistan, Air and his girlfriend, Corbin Zulkowski, travelled to Colorado. When they returned home to Saskatchewan, they were engaged. "It was nice to be together," says Zulkowski, an army medic who met her fiancé on the job. "The first time he talked to you, you were his boyfriend." Before deployment, Zulkowski bought Stanley a notebook with a map of the world on the cover. It would become handy. On March 26, 2007, he wrote his last entry, printed below. Two weeks later—April 11—his LAV drove over a massive roadside bomb. Stanley and five other soldiers perished.

Things have been picking up here a little lately since I last wrote. We got ordered two more times. That's five attacks over four days. The last one scored the crap out of me. We were eating lunch in the lounge outside just outside the lounge. There was a high pitch screaming noise as a rocket flew right over our heads and hit just outside the far side of the lounge. It was crazy loud, we all threw our lunches on the ground and dove for cover inside the LAV. After it hit we had to let up. I had placed my kit about 15 feet from the LAV and when I had to go retrieve it, I felt more exposed than ever before in my life. It was a good lesson though. Never again will I put my kit so far from the LAV.

If we get hit today that will make five days in a row. Every time there is a loud bang or some the whole section's heads whip over to see what it is and your heart jumps a little.

Being in a war is strange. It goes from 0 to 100 in half a second and always when you're not ready. There are people trying to kill us right now, making plans and making weapons and I'm actually bored. War is strange.

ON THE WEB: For more letters home from our fallen soldiers, visit the Remembrance Day section at [remembrance.ca/for-the-fallen](http://remembrance.ca/for-the-fallen)

# DO YOUR DIFFERENCES REALLY MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

Yes. And we know it. In fact, at HSBC Bank Canada we make it our top priority to understand your differences – because that is ultimately where your true strengths lie.

It's a specialized expertise that's enabled us to excel in competitive global markets for over 140 years. In fact, we've just been named the Best Cash Management Bank in North America by Euromoney for the second year running.

So, what's the difference to you? Wherever you do business, we can provide a full range of world-class, innovative financial services, from risk management to investment.

To find out more about how our global experience can help your business stand out in Canada – or around the world – visit us at [hsbc.ca/business](http://hsbc.ca/business).

After all, your differences are our successes too.

COMMERCIAL BANKING

HSBC   
The world's local bank



## Your generosity can provide a brighter future

If you're looking for something special for your friends, family members and colleagues, consider giving a gift that lasts long after you give it. The 2008 Gifts of Hope catalogue is a unique and life-changing opportunity for you to help bridge the gap between children in need and the bright future they deserve.

Every Gift of Hope has extra special meaning and makes a powerful impact in the lives of impoverished children and their communities worldwide. Whether you help to support a community water project or fund textbooks for a school, you'll find a variety of ways that you can make a world of difference.

You can also choose to give a Gift of Hope on someone else's behalf. A gift like this is a unique and thoughtful way to give. And it will have a powerful impact on children and their communities worldwide. You can order a gift card for friends or family members to let them know, that through you, they're part of Plan's efforts to change the future of children and communities most in need. You can place your order on our website at [plancanada.ca/makeadon](http://plancanada.ca/makeadon) and have your gift card sent directly to the recipient or to you, or send a gift acknowledgement by email.

Thank you for your support.

Sincerely,

*Rosemary McCahey*

Rosemary McCahey  
President & CEO  
Plan Canada



Give a Gift of Hope from yourself  
or on someone's behalf.

\* Founded in 1937 as Foster Parents Plan

## Sustainable solutions start with a Plan

Plan is an international, humanitarian child-centered development organization with no religious, political or governmental affiliations. We operate in more than **45 developing countries**, and through a variety of long-term programs, improve the lives of **1.3 million children and 13 million people worldwide**.

Plan was founded in 1937 as Foster Parents Plan by journalist John Langdon-Davies who started by helping one child in need, and soon found a way to help many more. We believe solutions lie within people and the communities themselves. In fact, 90 percent of our highly skilled staff and dedicated volunteers live and work in our partner communities. They are the keys to providing long-term prosperity, stability and hope. This partnership approach allows us to achieve our ultimate goal – to teach communities to succeed on their own.

Our offices are led by accredited professionals who are dedicated to finding **innovative and sustainable solutions**.



I don't need  
a band aid.  
I need a Plan.

With an intimate understanding of the needs in a community, they efficiently deliver long-term positive change.

Partnering with Plan offers the opportunity for an **extraordinary experience**. Look inside this Gifts of Hope catalogue to find a number of ways you can become involved. When you sponsor a child we also provide the opportunity for you to communicate with those whose lives you are changing, so you can see the **lasting difference** your contributions are making to the lives of children and their communities every day.

With your help, children worldwide have a Plan.

## WITH YOUR HELP, CHILDREN WORLDWIDE HAVE A PLAN.

### Where Your Money Goes

Plan has one of the highest ratios of money directed to projects that benefit children



For more details visit [plancanada.ca](http://plancanada.ca)

Programs benefiting children and families = **81%**

Fund development = **11%**

Operating = **8%**

Figures are from fiscal year 2008 audited financial statements. On average, over the past 5 years, 28 percent of funds raised by Plan go towards fund development and operating. Revenue from all sources in Canada is expected to be \$70 million in fiscal 2009.

### Plan Countries

Algeria	Dominican Republic	Ghana	Guinea-Bissau	Mozambique	Sierra Leone
Bangladesh	Ecuador	India	Haiti	Nepal	South Sudan
Brazil	Egypt	Indonesia	Honduras	Nicaragua	Tanzania
Burkina Faso	Kenya	Kenya	India	Niger	Tanzania
Burundi	Madagascar	Madagascar	Kenya	Nigeria	Tanzania
Cameroon	Mali	Mali	Kenya	Senegal	Tanzania
Chad	Mali	Mali	Kenya	Senegal	Tanzania
Colombia	Mali	Mali	Kenya	Senegal	Tanzania

# YOU + PLAN = A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE FOR

# CHILDREN AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

## Gifts of Livelihood

### \$15 Birth Registration in Sudan

■ Access to the rights children deserve

Plan's universal birth registration program gives children a national identity. This means they have access to their legal and political rights, social and educational services and a better opportunity to earn a living as adults.

### \$20 Pigs in China

■ An excellent source of fertilizer and protein

Your gift will support a project for schools in rural China where severe protein deficiency is an ongoing problem. Plan also teaches simple dairy construction and basic farming techniques.

### \$40 Goats in Nepal, Mozambique or Benin

■ A stable supply of nourishment and income

Goats bring immediate health improvements to the entire family. By selling surplus milk, the family earns additional income for education and health care.

### \$60 Portable Gardens for One Farmer in Kenya

■ Nourishing food and the potential for income

Portable Gardens include sacks, soil and plants/seeds. This gift provides food security, a livelihood and improved nutrition.

### \$300 Cows in Zambia/Ghana

■ A lasting supply of milk to drink and sell

Adult cows give more than enough milk for just one family, allowing them to sell the surplus and make extra money in the market.



## Gifts of Habitat

### \$50 Give a Child Clean Water in Benin

■ Refreshment today, health tomorrow

Four children die every minute from water-related diseases or dehydration, mostly caused by dirty drinking water. Your gift provides clean water for a child in Benin.

### \$100 Solar Power a Well in Niger

■ A safe, year-round supply of water

A solar-powered pump for a well can help prevent disease and relieve children from the burden of traveling long distances to collect water.



## Gifts of Health

### \$25 Mosquito Nets in Uganda

■ Protection & comfort right after night

Your gift of an insecticide-treated net provides protection from malaria and comfort for up to five children and their parents.

### \$30 Equip a Physiotherapy Unit in Uganda

■ Health care for children with disabilities

Your gift will help contribute to providing basic health care and specialized services like hearing or vision aids and X-rays, as well as prosthetics, physiotherapy and orthopaedic workshops.

### \$175 Immunize a Community in Bolivia

■ A good start to a long life for children

You can give a special gift and support community immunization campaigns targeting typhoid, polio, measles and diphtheria across communities in Bolivia.

## Gifts of Education

### \$25 Books for a "Library in a Box" in Haiti

■ A better chance for a life of literacy

Improve the quality of education for children. Books provided will also include those that are necessary for learning trades – creating opportunities to break the cycle of poverty.

### \$65 Literacy Training for Two Women in Niger

■ The passing of knowledge onto children

A woman's experience as a mother in her self-confidence and employment options. Carolee, a woman's class, builds literacy skills.

### \$100 Teacher Training in Sierra Leone

■ Inspiration & mentorship for the students of tomorrow

Trained teachers are a source of support to their students, inspiring and mentoring children who are healing from the effects of civil war. You'll provide the training these teachers need to help shape the future of their country.

### \$350 School Supplies for a Class in Sierra Leone

■ Exercise for children's minds and imaginations

Give the tools children need to succeed in school and inspire a passion for the arts and sciences.



For a complete Gifts of Hope catalogue  
call 1-888-755-8313 or visit [plancanada.ca/maclean](http://plancanada.ca/maclean)

## SUPPORT A SOLUTION

Help create a better future for children worldwide.

**For as little as \$10 a month, you can fund initiatives that tackle the most challenging problems facing children in the developing world.**



### Girl Child Projects

= **Confident and self-sufficient women**

Empowering a girl shatters social and cultural barriers to health care, education and employment that many girls face. Give girls a voice and help them access the education they deserve.

### HIV and AIDS Child Projects

= **A better chance for a long healthy life**

Help us combat HIV and AIDS through education, prevention, counseling and health care.

### Child in Crisis Projects

= **Saving lives and building futures**

Help children in times of crisis get emergency assistance and life-saving necessities such as food, water and medical supplies, and support long-term projects to rebuild their communities.

### Children with Disabilities Projects

= **Equality for all children**

Stimulate responsiveness, provide innovative community-based services and help children integrate as equals in their communities.

### Education Projects

= **Hope, knowledge and future opportunities for children**

Give children the opportunity for an education and help launch projects that build and repair schools, train teachers and provide school supplies.

### Water Projects

= **A lasting supply of fresh water for thousands**

You can help a child, a family or an entire community gain access to clean, safe water that's close to home.

## CHILD SPONSORSHIP

All it takes is a Plan and **about \$1 a day**. Through child sponsorship, you can make a lasting difference in the life of a child, their family and community.

### About \$1 a day

= **A better future for a child**

By sponsoring a child through Plan you help provide access to necessities such as safe water, schooling, and medical care. You'll be able to watch your sponsored child flourish with photos, letters, and see for yourself how your gift improves their life.

Reads out to a child and became a Plan sponsor today!

## YOUR GIFT WILL BE FELT LONG AFTER YOU GIVE IT

When you give a Gift of Hope, you'll receive a complimentary **2008 Plan Calendar** as our thanks for the lasting contribution you've made.

Let your friends or family know a Gift of Hope has been sent in their honour.

• **Order By Phone or at [plancanada.ca/macleans](http://plancanada.ca/macleans)** Have your gift acknowledgement card sent directly to the recipient – or if you are online you can send a gift acknowledgement by email (one gift card per gift purchased). We also offer a version that you can print off and personalize at home.

• **Order By Mail:** You can order a gift card for every Gift of Hope you purchase. Personalize and send your gift cards to let the honoree know a gift has been given on their behalf.

**Make a lasting impact by  
giving a Gift of Hope today  
1-888-755-8313  
[plancanada.ca/macleans](http://plancanada.ca/macleans)**



Your Contribution = Plan

A lasting difference for  
children worldwide



For information on group fundraising or to order more catalogues for yourself, or for your work, school, club or organization, please call us at 1-888-755-8313.

Complete and mail the attached form, call us at 1-888-755-8313, or visit us at [plancanada.ca/macleans](http://plancanada.ca/macleans)

# A GIFT OF HOPE HELPS PROVIDE CHILDREN AND THEIR COMMUNITIES WITH A LIFETIME OF OPPORTUNITY

Give a Gift of Hope from yourself or on someone else's behalf. It's ideal for anyone on your list. And it's a gift that lasts a lifetime.

1-888-755-8313 • [plancanada.ca/millions](http://plancanada.ca/millions)



Gifts of Livelihood



Gifts of Education



Gifts of Habitat



Gifts of Health



Plan Canada  
95 St. Clair Ave. W.  
Suite 1001  
Toronto, ON  
M4V 1B5

©2007 PLAN

## 'You are not fit for public office'

**BY BEN MACDONALD** • From the slush of Whistler to the noisy enclave of West Vancouver, MP Blair Wilson represents one of the largest, wealthiest ridings in Canada. Until his abrupt resignation Sunday from the Liberal caucus, he seemed perfect for the role: calm and intelligent, he portrayed himself as a self-made business success, and a purveyor of integrity and family values. "Relating work and family," his online biography says, "Blair's experience includes both international and domestic enterprises in a wide variety of industries and sectors including trade, consumer and security products, health and insurance, as well as real estate development."

An investigation by Vancouver's *Province* newspaper found otherwise. It revealed a string of business failures, lawsuits, court claims, huge debt, and allegations of improper campaign financing. Liberal leader Stéphane Dion quickly "accepted" Wilson's resignation from caucus and as party vice-president. "They are serious allegations, which must question the Mr. Wilson man without delay," said Dion. Wilson issued a statement calling the allegations "baseless."

"Well, please" both was the byword for the past month as Stelmach could not get to defend himself against accusations he is a charlatan, rather than defend his middle-of-the-road response to a report on royalties proposed by a crackpot, government crack-pot. But comparisons to Carson on the show let the premier off too easy. Not that Stelmach's complaining. Indeed, the odd thing about the post-royalties announcement premier is that he's never looked so good.

Too could have pitched five months ago the health—however precarious it may remain—of the Stelmach premiership today. As University of Calgary political analyst David Thorsen put it, "It's not the movie we thought we would be watching."

Back then, Stelmach was in the middle of an endless scrap with Calgary Mayor Dave Bronckhorst over municipal funding; critics urged the premier to appear before an ignoring Alberta's crisis and that he'd stacked his cabinet with blowguns from his home base, Calgary. Instead, he stuck to his guns.

The second Mount Liberal attack on alleged Conservative irregularities in the financing of campaign advertising. More damning for Wilson was a scandal, where he owned part of a press club, and relatives who's family of millions in unpaid loans and poor investments—including a \$122,660 BC cheque from his mother-in-law this April as she lay dying from cancer. "Blair, when you say 'no, no, no, no, no,' said his father-in-law, Bill, laughing. 'You are not fit for public office.'"

## 'Special Ed' goes to head of the class

**BY HENRIKAS RUTHER** • Just hours after unveiling Alberta's new royalties scheme, Premier Ed Stelmach kicked off a weekend of Progressive Conservative policy week by letting everyone know in no uncertain terms—that his government is "not Communist." Of each comment was the message that, following day, a Calgary newspaper led off its coverage of Stelmach's royalties decision—which increases the province's oil patch take by some \$1.4 billion beginning in 2009—with the premonition: "Certainly in the last few weeks I've been called a lot of names," Stelmach, referring to industry anger ahead of the announcement, said in Lethbridge, adding "I'm not whatever his name is in Vermont."

With plans both was the byword for the past month as Stelmach could not get to defend himself against accusations he is a charlatan, rather than defend his middle-of-the-road response to a report on royalties proposed by a crackpot, government crack-pot. But comparisons to Carson on the show let the premier off too easy. Not that Stelmach's complaining. Indeed, the odd thing about the post-royalties announcement premier is that he's never looked so good.

Too could have pitched five months ago the health—however precarious it may remain—of the Stelmach premiership today. As University of Calgary political analyst David Thorsen put it, "It's not the movie we thought we would be watching."

Back then, Stelmach was in the middle of an endless scrap with Calgary Mayor Dave Bronckhorst over municipal funding; critics urged the premier to appear before an ignoring Alberta's crisis and that he'd stacked his cabinet with blowguns from his home base, Calgary. Instead, he stuck to his guns.

members, prompted some to begin whispering of Stelmach as "Special Ed."

Then—well, then the unexpected happened. Alberta cheered and the province's oil and gas industry cheered at their thirteenth hours when the royalty money-peddler's report arrived in September calling for pragmatic focus on energy does. Stelmach, ever the good student, noted for six weeks to make the report under consideration—only to watch his poll numbers climb. When his cheer-prone Alberta voters' new royalties, he neglected such key post-revelation as an old adage reverberates, "Industry moved in a way that would lead the casual observer to believe the government had been bought," says his University of Alberta political science at the University of Alberta. Media reports followed the view of the premier industry's new roller-coaster. All good for Stelmach.

Winded away by guests from taking a media road on royalties that would anger industry and Albertans equally, Stelmach may now triumph with just such a compromise (eventual some times say his plan is too hard on smaller conventional oil firms, which will lay off workers and could in some cases go under).



STELMACH won Peter Loughheed's blessing, which Klein never did

This week, former premier Peter Loughheed, who lauded Stelmach's, endorsed the scheme—the kind of benediction Klein never got, and one-time journalist and "Soul South" author Klein was said to be seeking nomination as a star provincial Tory candidate. Stelmach then managed a new trick by switching the channel from royalties to a plan to cut homelessness—an issue dear to the hearts of Canadians he must win back after a rocky start.

The Alberta Liberals, meanwhile, shooed months ago appeared on the camp of a political through, have instead dipped in the polls, unable to capitalize on their summer by clean win or to fill the vacuum left when the premier disappeared for weeks to study royalties. Stelmach's looking awfully floated that he over his. He has managed to appear resilient, not just on royalties, but with a new municipal funding arrangement that shocked and threatened. Last weekend, a Tory policy meeting in Calgary showed a party not badly fractured by the leadership race that took Stelmach's unlikely pivot, and ready for an election—perhaps as soon as December depending on polling. "Who would have thought in the month of the year?" But then, it's easy to look good after weeks of being compared to Hugo Chávez. ■

JASON FARMER/REUTERS



HADY HAVE CURBED the coming em. "After Bush," thinking the U.S. will retreat from its current posture. "I ask them, are you or catch?" and one leading consultant.

# COULD THE NEXT PRESIDENT BE EVENS CARIER?

**Think the world will be safer with George Bush gone? Think again.**

**BY LIZETTE CH. SAVAGE** As part of her job as an influential national security think tank, Monica Smith brings politicians and senior policy-makers from all over Europe to Washington for candid closed-door meetings with the policy advisors to the candidates vying to replace President George W. Bush. The Europeans usually arrive eager to discuss the con- ting on that some are dubbing "AB". "After Bush" That is the highly anticipated period beginning on Jan. 20, 2009 in which a newly sworn-in American president, chosen by the troubles in Iraq and by the storm of illness who say the Bush White House floundered under national loss, will turn his or her back on the military and administrative steps of the pre- diction seven years, continue to embrace mili- tary operations and international crises, bring home U.S. troops, and perhaps even resume the "war on terror" in something other than a "war".

But by the time the meetings end—he they with advisors to Democrats like Hillary Clin- ton, Barack Obama and John Edwards, or Republicans such as Rudolph Giuliani and Mitt Romney—the vision usually have the same reaction, says Smith, the director of the Europe Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "The response is usually a little bit of shock and awe and dis- appointment. They say, 'What do you mean?' We thought this would be a new era."

Tell after poll shows that the vast majority of Americans are sick of the Iraq war, while many worry that through its counter-terror- ism policies, the U.S. has squandered the goodwill it once enjoyed abroad. When the current presidential season began in earnest a year ago, it was widely expected that the equinox in the White House would be com- paring against the incoming foreign pol- icy associated with Bush. But precisely the opposite has happened. "We've gone surprise of the Europeans, and to many Americans,

the leading presidential candidates are talk- ing just as tough as the current occupant of the White House—and some even tougher.

The candidates who have risen to the top in the post-racial race have to be the big- got broke in each party. Both former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani, who leads the Republican field nationally, and New York Senator Hillary Clinton, who dominates the Democratic primary contest, have a vision of muscular American diplomacy, actively man- aging the stakes in the confrontation with Iran, surrounded themselves with advisors who believe that unilateral American military might can be right, and have no intention of allowing the United Nations or some judge sitting in the Hague to tell them otherwise.

"There is this expectation that the U.S. will retreat entirely from the position that we've had for the last years," says Smith. "But we're not going to roll back the clock. I try to drill home the message that pol- itics will change, but probably not the way you hope they will." Smith finds the can't define international

been portrayed in the media as a stand-alone question. But it has got to be seen as part of the larger war on terror, and is essential to the health of the international system overall."

Giuliani, a former diplomat and speech writer for Henry Kissinger who now teaches a cul- ture course at Yeshiva on the four points of world- engender, unapologetically warred "Grand Strategy" in her biography of F.H.I. The Iran- an When Nothing Was Lost, author Molly Worthen tracks his evolution, from a critic of the Vietnam War, to a hawk, to one of the most headline pre-Israel officials in the State Department. He was against the Vietnam War until he was sent to Saigon in the early 1970s, where he concluded that the U.S. could have won only Congress had the more soft to stay and fight. Since Iraq, Assad if he is optimistic that the U.S. will win this con- flict, still says simply, "Yes."

Giuliani has been the most belated crack- down when it comes to the rising tensions with Iran, while the calls to "greater danger than Iraq." On Oct. 16, he offered voters a "guarantee"

## RUDY GIULIANI DOESN'T THINK THE PRESIDENT HAS TO CONSULT ANYONE BEFORE BOMBING IRAN

expectations enough. "I had someone from the Netherlands say, 'I can't wait until 2009 when you join the International Criminal Court,'" she recalls. "I thought, are you on crack? There is no way that is going to be a top priority for anyone."

The most hawkish and heated candidate so far in foreign policy rhetoric goes is Giuliani, who sounds more and more like Bush the longer he campaigns. "We have learned that end must be conditioned—not opposed," he wrote last month in the journal Foreign Affairs. Like Bush, Giuliani envisions a long-term presence in Iraq. "The commitment to Iraq and to the region and to policies and strategies that are very long lasting and have a long-term horizon," his chief foreign policy advisor, Charles DILL, told MSNBC. "Iraq has

that Iran will not obtain nuclear arms on his watch. On Monday, he mocked Democrats who have called about negotiating with Iran and President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. He has also made it clear that he does not believe the president need consult Congress—not even on foreign affairs—if he decides to launch a military attack on Iran. When his chief rival, former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney, in a debate on Oct. 9 that he would con- sider leaving before deciding whether to seek congressional authorization for war with Iran, Giuliani later brushed him, saying he need only worry about consulting "the generals" and General Romney that he should "tell the American people, 'I made a mistake.'"

As well as H.I., Giuliani has assembled a headline team of advisors that includes New



RUDY GIULIANI doesn't expect him to shy the policy "Hagood or join the International Court."



MITT ROMNEY has a little more than a "What's the, and wants to 'quote' Giuliani."



FRED THOMPSON: "It's a global war—Islamic terrorism has declared—it's up to us."

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF COLLIER. STYLING BY NATHANIEL LAY

LARRY GREENMAN/GETTY IMAGES



man, Podesta, the writer and a co-conspirator. Podesta, who recently wrote an essay entitled, "The Case for Rethinking Iran," hopes and prays that President Bush will do it. "Podesta's answer to the world is 'The Long Struggle Against Islamofascism,' is an astonishing advance of the 'Bush Doctrine' including the use of unilateral and preemptive military force and the conceptualization of terrorism as a military problem rather than a law enforcement one. Giuliani's foreign policy team also includes Michael Brafan, a former adviser on Iran and Iraq to former defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who has argued against negotiating with Iran. Another adviser is former Bush speech writer David Frome, a Canadian who worked on the far end of 'axis of evil' speech.

That said, you won't hear Giuliani adopt any Iraq's high-minded rhetoric about defining freedom to which we press for it. Perhaps the biggest difference between his foreign policy and Bush's is that Giuliani is fixated on the war on terrorism and is promoting all the fiery language about bringing democracy to the world. "It's a practical, pragmatic approach," Gill says. "Two contemporary essays are an ideal that is a God-given right, or you can say this you are not going to get good government without some kind of democracy. The latter of the two outcomes may be the same, but it's a different thing."

Giuliani also talks about the need for new diplomacy—but he uses a vocabulary and word for how effectively they take on Iran. Americanism around the globe. "Too many people distance our country or our policies simply because they are confident that they will neither any respect or attention from our representatives," he wrote. "The American ideals of freedom and democracy deserve stronger advocacy. And the era of confrontation with Americanism must end."

Giuliani called himself a supporter of the "international system," and wants to strengthen it. But what he really wants is the traditional system of sovereign states, and not new super national institutions. He does support some organizations like NATO—because he expects it to include "any state that meets basic standards of good governance, military readiness, and global responsibility, regardless of its location." And Giuliani wants to transform the regional defense alliances into what would be a global police force, which would take on "threats to the international system, from regional aggression to terrorism."

But he's not going to sign up on the Republican on the International Criminal Court's case in the Hague. "In the 1990s," said Giuliani, "it was a fulminating intelligence of western Europe to say that the international system was extended and you wanted to

invest more grassroots organizations and super national institutions that would leave the fundamental rules of the international system in the dust. A lot of people wanted to run it off the rails." The Kyoto Protocol, one of the results of that trend, was "not sustainable," and another, the International Criminal Court, "was going too far," Gill says.

Giuliani also wants to reinstate U.S. military supremacy, and has pledged to expand the U.S. Army by 30 new combat brigades (it has 16,000 to 20,000 soldiers), the also

has chosen Color Black, a former State Department official and the vice chairman of Blackwater USA, the private security company that has come under increasing fire following civilian deaths in Iraq, to advise him. While he was Massachusetts governor, Romney refused to provide any security for former Iranian president Mohammad Khatami when he came to the state to deliver a speech at Harvard University, recently, he made a show of criticizing Columbia University for allowing Ahmadinejad to speak on its campus. And on Oct. 25, he laid "bare

**DANGER: AHMADINEJAD.** When it comes to his doctor plan for Iran, the only real difference is in the details.



## BOTH GIULIANI AND CLINTON HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY RAISING THE STAKES IN THE FACEOFF WITH IRAN

wants to press ahead with the missile defense system. In total, his policy package has led liberal blogger Josh Marshall to declare that, "at least as foreign policy and presidential power—two pretty big areas of the president's job in Bush without the soft edges."

Meanwhile, GOP candidates are trying to match Giuliani's tone. Romney recently declared in a May debate that "those people here and we ought to do something now [the U.S. naval base in Cuba where our radar suspects are being held] it's very in the right to double Guantanamo." As Romney explained, when it comes to prisoners in the war on terror, "I want them in Guantanamo, where they don't get the access to lawyers that they get when they're on our soil." Romney

prosecutor on TV's *Law and Order*, the threat has come to be met with slow and cautious expansion. "This is a global war—Islamic terrorism based on upon us," said Thompson. "They play by no rules and they are intent on bringing down Western civilization and the United States." And of the top GOP contender, only John McCain has taken a clear position on Iran and has concrete intelligence techniques

ON THE OTHER SIDE of the aisle, the biggest hawk is also leading the field. Hillary Clinton won in favor of the congressional resolution that authorized the use of force against Saddam Hussein, and unlike her rival John Edwards, refused to apologize for her vote like other Democratic candidates, Clinton

has not ruled out military intervention with Iraq. But Clinton is the only one who on Sept. 26 voted in favor of the Senate resolution that backs the American Revolutionary Guard as a terrorist organization. Her vote is being pointed to helping to pave the way for a military attack by the Bush administration. Clinton made some form of a target against her rival, John Edwards, who was not in town to vote against the resolution, argues that it is a bare minimum because the U.S. has long drafted Iran as a state sponsor of terrorism, is a leading to voters in the early primary states of Iowa, Obama wrote, "Why in this amendment so disingenuous? Because George Bush and Dick Cheney could use this language to justify keeping our troops in Iraq along as they can point to our Iraq, and because they can use this language to justify an attack on Iran to prevent the ongoing war in Iraq." One of Obama's foreign policy advisers, Joe DeSantis, told MacLean's: "Those who read that are either being played because they don't understand what is going on here, or are willing to move in that direction with regard to Iran. Obama has made it clear he would keep every option on the table, he is not this point not prepared to contemplate military action because there is no need for it."

Romney, North Carolina senator Edwards also criticized Clinton's vote as a failure of judgment. "It leaves a clear lesson from the lead-up to the Iraq war in 2003. If you give this president as much, he will take it and launch a war," Edwards said. "Senator Clinton apparently learned a different lesson." Another rival, Chris Dodd, called the move "a dangerous step toward armed confrontation with Iran." Clinton responded with a letter to her supporters in Iowa stating that her vote is just a stepping stone of diplomacy. "I was clearly a vote for stepped-up diplomacy, not military action," she wrote. She noted that she has co-sponsored a bill that would require Bush to consult Congress before attacking Iran.

But the fact is, Clinton is well-known not to look like a foreign policy hawk. "For many years the Democrats have been perceived as weak on international security, and they are determined not to be perceived that way again," says Richard Everts, a professor of political science and director of the Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University. "With Clinton, she has the added problem of suspicion that a woman may be less tough, and may be compromising for that. She seems to have decided that at least in an election her main vulnerability will be on the national security issue, and any softness would be contributing the Republicans could exploit." Or as Ed Lake, a columnist in the conservative *New York Sun*, writes, "Mrs. Clinton will support wars and talons and swords for

the blood of every Iranian terrorist as soon as she receives her party's nomination." That Clinton's Iraq war vote and her passing up on Iraq isn't easily dismissed as plays. In July 2006, a former critic of her husband's administration, Richard Holbrooke, now described as a close adviser to Clinton, talked about her foreign policy views to *New York magazine*. "She is probably more assertive and willing to act faster than her husband," he

## SHE CONSULTS THE MOST HAWKISH DEMOCRATS AND DOESN'T RULE OUT STRIKES AGAINST IRAN



**HILLARY CLINTON** says nothing Iraq is worth the world's message to Iraq, and that the president can't always wait for congressional approval on national security issues.

lary Clinton is a classic national security Democrat. She is better at foreign relations and security issues for the current era than her husband was at a common point in his career."

In one 2006 speech, Clinton made clear that she supported military intervention, even if they were away. "There is a relief that we should interfere with force only when we face a global threat that is not merely a local, preferably by overwhelming force in a relatively short period of time. To those who believe we should become involved only if it's a very long, I think we have to say that America has never and should not get away from the hard task that is the right one."

"From the Middle East to the Arab-Israeli conflict to Afghanistan, Iraq, and China—a virtually every major challenge facing the U.S.—she has a fairly aggressive posture," says Julianne Smith. "She has surrounded the rule

with some of the most hawkish members of the Democratic foreign policy community."

One of Clinton's closest foreign policy advisers, former secretary of state Madeleine Albright, has long been hawkish on the use of force. In her memoirs, former chairman of the joint chiefs of staff Colin Powell mentioned that Albright nearly gave him "a strategy" during the Bill Clinton administration with his intent to respond to a possible U.S. forces for missions around the world. (Hillary Clinton told her husband to promote Albright from UN ambassador to secretary of state. They were also the first two people in the administration to speak out against the Taliban.)

Holbrooke also supported the Iraq invasion—although he wanted to see a bigger conflict. In a 2002 speech he argued that

ingering Hussein in power after the Gulf War was the U.S.'s biggest mistake since the Vietnam War, and he criticized the Bush administration for seeking an explicit mandate from the UN for invading Iraq—which was based on the request. He argued that "would have the deep impression that any military action that follows is a violation of the Security Council's will, rather than being based legally from the long rule of law." And, he added, "The U.S. cannot and will not accept the UN as the sole legitimization of force."

Clinton herself has said as much. Last spring, Michael Crowley of the *New York Daily News* asked her about the sense of her husband's Italian military intervention on her Iraq vote (he's not) and his NATO allies' limited strike force post-9/11 against the Kosovo War in an effort to end that conflict, and in 1999, without UN approval, NATO bombed Serbia

to stop Bep's aggression in Kosovo." "It certainly did influence my thinking," Clinton replied. "What many of us thought was, the use of diplomacy backed up by the threat of force—that a credible person for America to take on the world." But, she added, "there were those in the Congress who thought that the United States could never even discuss force—occasionally take force—in the absence of UN Security Council approval. Well, that sort-of drove the Clinton administration that sometimes this is not even possible. Sometimes, it's as an even possibility for the president to get congressional approval to pursue vital national security interests."

In her 2002 floor speech before the vote on authorizing military force against Iraq, Clinton said, "Perhaps my decision is influenced by eight years of experience on the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue in the White House, watching my husband deal with serious challenges to our nation. I went (as president, or as future president, to be in the strongest possible position to lead our country in the United Nations or in war."

In this regard, Clinton's position is not that different from Clinton's. "President at least rhetorically put more emphasis on unilateral action," says Bess, "but there is a fair amount of similarity about what the U.S. should be doing on leadership in the world and shaping the world as democratic values. Nobody wants to tell the American voters that we'll wait for a permission slip."

When Clinton does criticize the Iraq war and calls for a gradual reduction in troops, she is critical to her much of the. However, she is going in the same direction to make to extreme differences. "There is no credibility a hold hostage by an Iraq government that will not use itself in the right to seek a political resolution of the rights and role of the State treasury and to determine how oil revenues is allocated," she said in a speech in October 2006. Reducing troop levels, she said, would send a message to the Iraq government that "makes it clear that American forces will not be there to prop up their demands and refusal to deal with the problems at hand."

Clinton's tough talk goes back a risk and an opportunity for her main rival, Obama. It goes from an opening to appeal to the new wing of the Democratic party—but requires him to show that he can out-pace Clinton from foreign threats. Obama raised eyebrows in August by saying to send troops into Pakistan if he had intelligence about terrorists hiding there. Like top foreign policy adviser at Tony Lake, another senior in the Clinton-Gore administration in the Balkans, who has been called to Washington for his advice on foreign policy. He agreed to lead the Clinton administration to send to Serbia

troops to Bosnia, despite the objection of some European allies on the ground and officials at the Pentagon who were reluctant to put U.S. troops into a war zone. And Lake was eager for the Clinton administration to send troops into Haiti to remove a coup against a democratically elected leader, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a move that was eventually a 11th-hour negotiated agreement.

Not everyone who served at the Bill Clinton White House learned the same lessons. Obama adviser Douglas, who ran as Clinton's

the "war on terror" non-interventionist and turning America into "America." But even he won't rule out military strikes against Iran, and has called for sending UN forces into Sudan. Of course, campaign as all about getting elected. How any individual will ultimately govern is not so much a question. "Unfortunately, political campaigns are not the right vehicle to develop foreign policy positions," says PJ Crowley, director of international security at the Center for American Progress, a liberal think tank in Washington. In the 1992 presidential

## IN AUGUST OBAMA VOWED TO SEND TROOPS INTO PAKISTAN IF TERRORISTS WERE HIDING THERE



OBAMA has to show he can protect the U.S. from foreign threats. His foreign policy adviser may help. He agreed to send troops into Bosnia, against Pentagon advice.

National Security Council, says the Italian was left with more skepticism about military intervention. "I'm more sober about the use of force than I was then," he says. "The ability to influence nations from outside is more limited than even people thought in the 1990s. The experience in Kosovo and Bosnia are pretty sobering." And, Doubler adds, "I think the larger reality about Bosnia and Kosovo is that it's easier to fight splendid little wars we can win on the first movie than to build an enduring peace."

Clinton's other chief rival, Edwards, has taken the softest tone, talking about the U.S. "acknowledging the moral high ground," dropping

campaign, Crowley notes, Bill Clinton "was very vocal of president [George H.W. Bush on his China policy." But when it came to warning relations with China in the face of human rights concerns, Clinton, after winning office, "went further than any of his predecessors since Nixon." The current secretary of the White House is also a case in point. He campaigned on a humble foreign policy and said he had no interest in "human building." "I'm going to be someone who is to have the military," Bush said in an October 2000 debate. "I'm not someone who is to have the mission needs to be clear, and the end strategy obvious." Or maybe not.



**ITALY: SPACE MEN ON AFFLIANCE FIRE RAMPAGE**  
The Civil Protection Department has a theory about why earthquakes in a Sicilian village simultaneously caught fire three years ago. "Fires, TVs, telephones—all burst into flame. The department says the fires could have been from 'leaky laptops sent weapons,'" said investigators. "We were not talking to the news from that time started the fires, but that unexplained forces capable of creating a technological fire were responsible."

## A palace feud in glorious Kazakhstan

**BY HARRY MACDONALD**—In Kazakhstan, a happy family feud between the country's probable president for life, Nursultan Nazarbayev and his former son-in-law is shaping a rare light on the underbelly of the ruling family. Until Bakht Alayev's former divorce from the president's 15-year-old daughter, the former senior intelligence official and banking boss was considered a likely successor to the presidency. Now, within days, he will face a criminal trial, the result of an investigation ordered by the president. He is accused



**THE KAZAKHSTAN president-for-life, at war with his ex son-in-law**

of corruption, and of helping two Kazakh banking bosses, one of whom is a former close aide of the president, to launder money. Alayev was sacked as ambassador to Austria in May, the apparent victim of a purge. Then, as his wife returned home to her father, the wife's alleged involvement in the former Soviet republic for 16 years for tinkering with the constitution. A curious coincidence, which only applies to Nazarbayev, now alone has to run in many times as he flies, even as, post facto, Boris Yeltsin's unflattering portrait of the country in favor, Kazakhstan is coming to the fore—business, "developing democracy" country—with the help of a European agency.

Meanwhile, the regime closed four opposition websites in the mid-1990s. Alayev that last week after they posted accusations of wire-tapped conversations allegedly involving government officials in Kazakh saying Alayev is "not going to have been this source." "Developing democracy," the critics of Nazarbayev's more absolute authority, like the country's jailed or exiled journalists, political opponents, and now, not so lately, Alayev, it's just a regular appearance in the country.

## Clearing the air of 'visual pollution'

**BY BRAD VINCENT**—These days, it's difficult to imagine a city without outdoor advertising, but in an old-fashioned landscape, it's already becoming a new reality in Brazil's biggest cities. Complicating that outdoor advertising is leading more than "visual pollution" and interferes with the natural beauty of Rio de Janeiro, the city's legislators recently banned outdoor advertising from constructing large billboards in the city.

The measure comes a year after South America's largest city, São Paulo, decided to get rid of outdoor advertising, a controversial move that saw some of the city's biggest advertisers take the municipality to court. Now Rio's law is drawing similar reaction. "Every big city has outdoor advertising," says Andre Carvalh, president of the Union of Outdoor Advertising Companies. "There hasn't been any proper debate about this."

But this, which will eliminate huge billboards that often obscure the tops of historic buildings or block "the enjoyment of the view of the natural landscape," has been applauded by architects and urban planners. Rio's beautiful landscape is only going to get better," says Gilmaro Bello, the president of the Institute of Brazilian Architects. "In São Paulo, the results were catastrophic and the city covered a landscape it had lost a long time ago."

Advertisers who refuse to comply with the new guidelines risk a \$6,000 fine. Although many are also planning legal action in Rio, other advertisers have welcomed the regulation.



**NO ADS: All the better to enjoy the other sights Brazil offers**

tion, arguing that advertisers need to strike a balance with other factors about the urban landscape. "The measure is a good one to clear up the cities, which are in chaos," said Washington Oliveira, the director of Rio Verde, the country's most successful commercial advertising company, based in São Paulo. "There is no need to ban advertising and visual impact can't exist side by side in a big urban estate. London is a great example of this."

## Spain: where the civil war lives on

**BY JORDAN TERRY**—Though the last shot in the Spanish Civil War was fired nearly 75 years ago, the scars that the war left on Spain still society remains close to the surface—and resulted this week in open conflict.



**A PAPAL commemorative ceremony sparked political controversy**

Last Sunday in Vatican City's St. Peter's Square, Pope Benedict XVI performed a commemorative ceremony for 49th anniversary of the war, the largest such ceremony ever conducted. The ceremonies were mostly forgotten and members of religious orders, killed by the Republican faction during the conflict after the Catholic Church sided with the right-wing Nationalists. Some 60,000 of the faithful gathered in the square. Nearby, though, a group of protesters demonstrated with an image of Francisco Franco—a painting that depicts the bombing of a Spanish village by the German Luftwaffe in support of the Nationalists. Franco and those who trained, exploited and killed. "Fighting broke out, and police were forced to intervene, arresting us."

Because of its timing, the ceremony was seen by some as a provocation. It came during the run-up to Spain's passage of the so-called Law of Historical Memory. Sponsored by the governing socialist party, it formally condones for the first time the 36-year rule of Franco. Francisco Franco, an ardent supporter of the removal of all fascist symbols, disavows the violence of the anniversary ritual staged by the Nationalists during the conflict, and forced civil government to fund the excavation of mass graves. Francisco Franco, the Catholic archbishop of Pamplona, has spoken out against the law, urging victims of the war "to look for ways to forget." The Church, however, which has been frustrated by the government's position on issues like divorce and same-sex marriage, views any political resolution for conducting its ceremony.

# Living up to Izzy: How dad's dreams are still the Aspers' biggest problem

BY JONATHAN CATHERWOOD

**Don't empire build.  
No empire has survived  
—Izzy Asper**

THEY'RE A SIGN (thing on the desk in Leon and Asper's Winnipeg office that reads, "Quebec: World Domination in Progress"). The joke is obvious to those who know the astonishing 41-year-old president and CEO of CanWest Global Communications. Although it's tempting to ask if it's due to being in his late father's shadow, the company's boardroom is still decorated with framed copies of some of Izzy Asper's favourite sayings. (As a small kid, he had a list of three from J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* books.) One of his most famous was what happened to his cherished nephew of the Maple Leafs—a highly effective keeper for a team who was never that good on the idea of winning through power. On paper, Izzy's younger son took over the Asper family empire in 1999. But there was about a question as to who was calling the shots when the old man was alive. "I always got the last word in," Len quipped at the company's 2005 annual meeting. "Which is: Yes, Dad. No, Dad. Whatever you say."

Izzy has been gone for four years now, but he haunts the company—and his three children—all. Most of Len's time at the tiller has been spent managing the fallout from his father's biggest deal, a \$3.5-billion takeover of the country's largest city dailies and half of the National Post, from Conrad Black's Hollinger International Inc. The 2000 spin-off spawned CanWest into a dominant media player overnight, but it also sidestepped the company with more than \$4 billion in debt, just as the high-tech bubble burst, sending investors and advertising revenue into a tailspin.

Earlier this year, however, there were huge lit fights that Izzy and his family's, which he called "Pinky," might finally be stepping out from dad's oversized shadow. After

years of debt-induced inactivity, CanWest was suddenly being made at a dizzying pace. The company helped to balance sheet by selling off its New Zealand media assets for \$114 million, and revenues for its core Canadian TV business were on the rise. (Although a planned sale of its interests in Asper's TEN Network, which was supposed to free up another \$1 billion, had been called off when the buyers failed to see its value.) It also spent \$45 million to buy back the 16 per cent interest in its city dailies that it spun off five years ago in 2004, paying \$55 million less than it raised from the fund's original investors. And most audaciously, CanWest launched a \$2.3-billion takeover of Alliance Atlantis Communications Inc., in partnership with New York investment bank Goldman Sachs.

The deal, which promises to give CanWest control of 43 of the country's most powerful privately held television channels, including Showcase, the Food Network and HGTV, is Len's alone. (When everyone else was negotiating alone, properties in the late 1990s, Izzy controlled his son's specialty wishes and kept the company focused on running Global Television into a national network.) The market, however, didn't seem to have much sympathy for people playing catch-up. After climbing up to the \$12 range when news of the Alliance Atlantis deal broke last January, CanWest shares have steadily slid. On Sept. 12 they hit \$7.95 a share, down from \$12.50 when they first broke, 15 weeks. By the CIBC's abrupt decision to delay hearings into the takeover, originally scheduled for early September, until mid-November. And there are concerns that the controversial takeover might not meet former ownership requirements.

The details for all of Global and Alliance's TV assets to be combined in one pot. But CanWest is contributing just \$362 million for an initial 36 per cent stake in the partnership, with plans to gradually work its way up to a controlling equity and then buy out its American partners in 2011. A forced coalition of arts groups including ACTRA, and the

Directors and Writers Guilds of Canada, is calling on the CRTC to reject the formula, saying it is simply U.S. ownership hidden behind "smoke and mirrors." If the consortium does demand that CanWest increase its stake to at least 50 per cent, it could end up costing the company \$100 million to a \$200 million more. Money that it may have difficulty raising given the current credit crunch, and its failure to find a buyer for TEN. CanWest's debt is already valued at \$2.6 billion, almost five times the company's EBITDA (earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization). Tim Casey, a BMO media analyst, has predicted the Alliance deal could end up forcing the debt to eight times EBITDA, notifiably high for a traditional media company that isn't growing especially fast. By comparison, Quebecor's debt is roughly 3½ times



LEONARD ASPER (above, left) with father, Izzy, (left) who was president and CEO, wearing the AGM coat with CEO Girl.

EBITDA. Toronto's close to six.

Could Len's signature alone be a problem for CIBC, a cautious analyst was uniformly bullish about only a couple of months ago, suddenly he is no longer? Or does it reflect a personally bigger problem, an impatience



"It's a little bit snakebit. He needs some good luck," says a former exec.

money investor who has given Izzy a word of warning for Asper to grow into the job.

(Leonard and his siblings, including the Food Network and HGTV, is Len's alone. (When everyone else was negotiating alone, properties in the late 1990s, Izzy controlled his son's specialty wishes and kept the company focused on running Global Television into a national network.) The market, however, didn't seem to have much sympathy for people playing catch-up. After climbing up to the \$12 range when news of the Alliance Atlantis deal broke last January, CanWest shares have steadily slid. On Sept. 12 they hit \$7.95 a share, down from \$12.50 when they first broke, 15 weeks. By the CIBC's abrupt decision to delay hearings into the takeover, originally scheduled for early September, until mid-November. And there are concerns that the controversial takeover might not meet former ownership requirements.)

The details for all of Global and Alliance's TV assets to be combined in one pot. But CanWest is contributing just \$362 million for an initial 36 per cent stake in the partnership, with plans to gradually work its way up to a controlling equity and then buy out its American partners in 2011. A forced coalition of arts groups including ACTRA, and the

Directors and Writers Guilds of Canada, is calling on the CRTC to reject the formula, saying it is simply U.S. ownership hidden behind "smoke and mirrors." If the consortium does demand that CanWest increase its stake to at least 50 per cent, it could end up costing the company \$100 million to a \$200 million more. Money that it may have difficulty raising given the current credit crunch, and its failure to find a buyer for TEN. CanWest's debt is already valued at \$2.6 billion, almost five times the company's EBITDA (earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization). Tim Casey, a BMO media analyst, has predicted the Alliance deal could end up forcing the debt to eight times EBITDA, notifiably high for a traditional media company that isn't growing especially fast. By comparison, Quebecor's debt is roughly 3½ times

EBITDA. Toronto's close to six. Could Len's signature alone be a problem for CIBC, a cautious analyst was uniformly bullish about only a couple of months ago, suddenly he is no longer? Or does it reflect a personally bigger problem, an impatience

money investor who has given Izzy a word of warning for Asper to grow into the job.

(Leonard and his siblings, including the Food Network and HGTV, is Len's alone. (When everyone else was negotiating alone, properties in the late 1990s, Izzy controlled his son's specialty wishes and kept the company focused on running Global Television into a national network.) The market, however, didn't seem to have much sympathy for people playing catch-up. After climbing up to the \$12 range when news of the Alliance Atlantis deal broke last January, CanWest shares have steadily slid. On Sept. 12 they hit \$7.95 a share, down from \$12.50 when they first broke, 15 weeks. By the CIBC's abrupt decision to delay hearings into the takeover, originally scheduled for early September, until mid-November. And there are concerns that the controversial takeover might not meet former ownership requirements.)

The details for all of Global and Alliance's TV assets to be combined in one pot. But CanWest is contributing just \$362 million for an initial 36 per cent stake in the partnership, with plans to gradually work its way up to a controlling equity and then buy out its American partners in 2011. A forced coalition of arts groups including ACTRA, and the

Directors and Writers Guilds of Canada, is calling on the CRTC to reject the formula, saying it is simply U.S. ownership hidden behind "smoke and mirrors." If the consortium does demand that CanWest increase its stake to at least 50 per cent, it could end up costing the company \$100 million to a \$200 million more. Money that it may have difficulty raising given the current credit crunch, and its failure to find a buyer for TEN. CanWest's debt is already valued at \$2.6 billion, almost five times the company's EBITDA (earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization). Tim Casey, a BMO media analyst, has predicted the Alliance deal could end up forcing the debt to eight times EBITDA, notifiably high for a traditional media company that isn't growing especially fast. By comparison, Quebecor's debt is roughly 3½ times

EBITDA. Toronto's close to six. Could Len's signature alone be a problem for CIBC, a cautious analyst was uniformly bullish about only a couple of months ago, suddenly he is no longer? Or does it reflect a personally bigger problem, an impatience

money investor who has given Izzy a word of warning for Asper to grow into the job.

EBITDA. Toronto's close to six. Could Len's signature alone be a problem for CIBC, a cautious analyst was uniformly bullish about only a couple of months ago, suddenly he is no longer? Or does it reflect a personally bigger problem, an impatience





Fraser. "I failed to appreciate how ugly and volatile the political arena in Canada can be," Fraser wrote from Paris, where he is working on a memoir & ed of a fading national newspaper. "As soon as Martin won that election, the gates from the PMO got on the border and began raining threats, including to the Aspers." The stakes were too high for him to survive, contends Fraser. "In an awkward country like Canada, where the government regulates media properties, they were under some pretty intense pressure. The funding for the museum was a hard roadblock, not unveiled." (Don't mind, Martin's former

**You're not out till they're laughing at you**  
—Izzy Asper

PLANNING IZZY WAS NEVER EASY, and as one might suspect, it has become a hell of a lot more difficult since his death. In the fall of 2004, CanWest trumpeted the acquisition of a 50 per cent stake in the *Jessie Post*, an English-language Israeli daily. "Izzy would be livid," he noted. Len said it requires using the Yiddish term for "busting with pride." Owing the publication had been a family dream for close to 20 years, he explained, for

Asper to pay his former partner's legal bills. Whether CanWest's current difficulties all stem from that act of reflexive desire to buy out—or perhaps less—the father, is hard to say. But the *Post* has found itself in it more than a lot more given Izzy's almost pathological attempts to ensure a smooth transition of power. The Asper patriarch's early history as a Winnipeg lawyer left him with a healthy fear of the danger someone ambitious could inflict on a family empire. He passed on books to his children detailing the professional history of clients like the Barclays, McCain and Steinbergs. And he left

his kids with a legally binding, 80-page "code of conduct" that explicitly spells out their respective responsibilities, and their duties to each other. "It's very, very detailed," Len told *Maclean's* in 2000. Among the rules: no public airing of disagreements, no vote for spouses, and a requirement for regular family meetings.

Those close to Len say he has often said that he may have stepped into the CEO's job too early (he was just 36). The scrutiny, time demands and emotional involvement all proved draining, they say, and especially hard on his wife and three young children.

What Len does seem to have in his favor is a family—never one of his father's strong suits. When "convergence," the buzzword CanWest used to describe its attempts to cut costs by longshifting to television, newspaper and Internet assets was one credit-promoting juggernaut, failed to produce the anticipated savings or advertising gains, he backed away. Len also fired Rick Conwell, the former inside salesman he had hand-picked to implement the failed strategy, and brought back Peter Vitar, a trusted Izzy lieutenant, to oversee the media division. "Len's good at recognizing his own mistakes," says Don Rubick, the former CEO of CanWest Global Communications. "He has the smarts and determination to make things happen."

And last year, he acceded to internal demands to relocate CanWest News Service—the in-house wire agency that is supposed to fill the gap void left by the company's withdrawal from the Canadian Press—from Winnipeg to Ottawa. (Global TV's flagship national newscast with Karen Newman will leave Vitar's center and set up shop in the capital early

## 'Izzy wasn't an easy man. The kids paid the price.'

director of communications, south of the ocean anyone close to the three-prince minister threatened the Aspers, or the museum, in any way, shape or form. "The endorsement of Stephen Harper by the National Post should not have come as a surprise to anyone on the planet and."

The Asper family also remains sensitive about how their late father will be remembered in print. Winnipeg journalist and author Gordon Sinclair (he has been working on a biography of Izzy since 2001, a book that closes again just as Izzy's account of his life has finally, like a 1985 conversion for failing to pay value a financial year sample



LOYALTY ABOVE ALL: Gail, David and Leonard with Izzy

ing slip has plans to place a copy of the paper on his father's grave when he is reinterred there to Winnipeg. It wasn't a big deal—the total purchase price was US\$1.3 billion—but neither did it seem to be a particularly rare one. While the Post has some broad recognition outside of Israel, it has an unimpressive circulation and has lost a personal money loser (it was hemorrhaging \$400,000 a month at the time).

Were still, it is a joint operating agreement with Israeli businessman Eli Asper dissolved into secrecy and lawsuits. In the end, an arbitral tribunal handed Asper a total victory, and ordered

ing slip has plans to place a copy of the paper on his father's grave when he is reinterred there to Winnipeg. It wasn't a big deal—the total purchase price was US\$1.3 billion—but neither did it seem to be a particularly rare one. While the Post has some broad recognition outside of Israel, it has an unimpressive circulation and has lost a personal money loser (it was hemorrhaging \$400,000 a month at the time).

But it has been left to the less-known members of the Asper clan, the women Izzy called "Brick Gail" might up to his graving, to carry out a more permanent, and perhaps fitting, tribute. A museum with a museum that is an overused, and impossible, as the kids from Minnesota, Man, who dreamed it up. And Gail, a teacher working for countless charitable causes, isn't the type to be dissuaded. "She's an expansive thinker," says Jonathan Kroft, a Winnipeg lawyer and lifelong. "There's a desire to do a tribute, but whether or not you can say so."



### HONRY FOR THEIR SHARE: PRIESTS STAND ACCUSED

Three dioceses in Florida are in trouble over misusing church funds to pay for boats and to run a short-term 400-campers. They are accused of using the money to pay for boats and to run a short-term 400-campers. They are accused of using the money to pay for boats and to run a short-term 400-campers. They are accused of using the money to pay for boats and to run a short-term 400-campers.

## The best part of having experience is sharing it.



At TD Waterhouse, our goal is to work with you to meet your specific financial goals.

At TD Waterhouse Private Investment Advisor, our Investment Advisor, work one-on-one with you to develop a comprehensive investment plan—one that's right for you and your family's unique needs and goals. Backed by a team of experts, they offer you fully interpreted and customized wealth management solutions that fit your desire to be involved in investment decision making. And, they will maintain ongoing contact to ensure your plan remains flexible enough to move with you through each stage of your life. You can be confident we share your goal of enhancing your financial success over the long term. Professional and personalized, the service of Private Investment Advisor is just one of the wide range of services TD Waterhouse offers to help you achieve your financial goals. Get comprehensive and personalized investment advice. Speak to your TD Waterhouse Investment Advisor, call 1-866-280-2822, or visit your local TD Waterhouse branch today.

- One-on-one relationship with a dedicated Investment Advisor
- Comprehensive and personalized investment advice

**TD Waterhouse**  
Worth of Experience

DISCOUNT BROKERAGE • FINANCIAL PLANNING • PRIVATE CLIENT SERVICES

1-866-280-2822 | [tdwaterhouse.ca](http://tdwaterhouse.ca)

TD Waterhouse represents the products and services offered by TD Waterhouse Securities Inc., TD Waterhouse Financial Planning, and TD Waterhouse Private Investment Advisor, which are divisions of TD Waterhouse Securities Inc. (GSE:TD). TD Waterhouse Securities Inc. is a member of the TD Bank Group. TD Waterhouse Securities Inc. is a member of the TD Bank Group. TD Waterhouse Securities Inc. is a member of the TD Bank Group. TD Waterhouse Securities Inc. is a member of the TD Bank Group.

west just." "It was an honest debate," says Viner. "Leonard and David said why not? When you're a case was made that we need to fish where the fish are."

Apple has also based himself out of Toronto, buying a \$5.15-million mansion in Rosedale, and leaving to a business reality his father steadfastly refused to acknowledge. Although Apple continues to refer to the move as "business," referring to the area code of his phone as proof of an intended return to the Big Apple, says there is no going back. "I think it's permanent," says Kevin Shea, "and it's the smartest thing I've ever did." Harold Fischel says it illustrates how the younger Apple has become his own man. He recalls Apple's irreverence when he was called to have a business meeting only on a Saturday morning because he wanted to go watch his son play hockey. Len was on the same team.

"Len moved because he was spending too much time away from his wife and family, and that's something I wouldn't do."

Given all the difficulties and, it's fair to wonder why Len continues to put him all through the wringer. His could, after all, follow the example of other Canadian-born business leaders like the Thompsons at Molson, and leave the hard slog to hard guys. Perhaps it's just not in his makeup to quit back and forth the changes. If so, the upcoming CIBC hearings will certainly test his mettle. Under new chair Ronald van Hest, the board has taken a harder line on media mergers, forcing CTV to divest CIBC's ownership for approval of the CHUM takeover, and making Rogers—the new CIBC owner—sell two of its existing stations. Media vintners are expecting an even tougher ride for the Alliance deal. "There's little doubt that CarWest is going to get even greater scrutiny because of the foreign ownership angle," says one analyst who follows the company. The stock, still trading at \$19, continues to lag because of concerns over high debt levels, the "unappealing complexity" of the Alliance Atlantic takeover, and continued losses to lead a buyer for Australia's Network Ten.

In the end, Apple simply be that Len feels he has no other choice but to continue on. There's ample evidence that he, like his siblings, is still motivated by his father's towering persona and lofty ambitions. "About three times a week I have a dream where I'm in the room and I say, 'So what did you do today, or how's it going?'" Len once told an interviewer. "To tell him, 'I'm all these things at night.' It's almost to me like he's still alive." With one big caveat: "When some thing bad happens, I don't dream about the crap I'm getting from him." ■

## Philanthropy is cutthroat. What gives?

**BY MARTIN PATRICKSON** • If the Hearst and Stokely Carmichael's Christmas campaign is any indication, it seems Canada's donors could get a lot in return for their charity. This year, the foundation sent out 175,000 gift packages containing [big brother] a notepad, four gift tags, eight personalized address labels with their small holly emblems, eight greeting cards with envelopes, two red bows, three feet of gold ribbon, a large sheet of wrapping paper, and a pen.

These packages, which cost about \$2 each, are the central wing of the philanthropy industry, which has never been more cutthroat, says Paul Mikhelson, vice president and Stokely Carmichael's manager of direct mail campaigns. "We've got such competition now," says Mikhelson, who has 21 years of experience in direct mail campaigns. "We are constantly trying to get an edge on every one else."

Working someone with heart to get them to donate to your charity over another's and, in the process, consider the numbers. The Hearst and Stokely campaign has been phenomenally successful since its inception in 1996, and last year earned about \$1 million thanks largely to its high and wider sales. "Generally gift packages double the response," Mikhelson says. "We raise big bucks with this."



CHARITIES are being forced to raise the stakes to attract donors

For years, says Mikhelson, "we had to do a picture of a polar bear on our cards, or the donations dropped off." It takes a lot more than that these days. And while love for emblems and their gifts, what has changed, says Mikhelson, is the sheer volume of mail. Simply offering personalized address labels—threefold go after for any number of charities—wasn't enough to wrap things up with prospective donors anymore. ■

## Apple takes a bigger bite of the PC pie

**BY JASON KERRY** • What is Apple's share of the personal computer industry? It's hardly a question for the ages, but it's clear that the Macintosh has been fading over the years. Apple's share of the market for a long time. Now with the launch of a new operating system and other financial results, the debate has reached a fever pitch. The question has also never been less important.

For years, Apple's Macintosh computers have been sleek and moved five per cent of the market, while PCs running the Windows operating system took up most of the rest. But two new reports have revised Apple's market share upward. The research firm IDC found Apple now sits at 6.1 per cent, while the Gartner group put it at 7.1. The latter report, which is up to 10 per cent, says analysts and tech journalists tipped the scales.

Then Apple released its annual results last week, which showed that whatever the exact market share figure, Apple was definitely finding their way into people's homes. Apple's profit jumped 75 per cent to US\$1.5 billion, partly due to strong iPod sales, but mostly because of demand for Apple's power PCs and laptops. With the launch of Apple's latest operating system last week, analysts predict another boost in sales. "Apple is launching a strong offensive point in terms of PC market share," Mike Minotieri, an analyst at IDC Capital Markets, told Bloomberg.

Even though there's a lot of focus on the iPhone, it's really the Mac that's driving the growth in revenue and earnings per share. "The truth is Apple's market share is not nearly as important as a right sales. The company's actual of premium priced computers has led sales to account Apple's market share. The history of the market has been that for every one of the North American market, but bigger models would kill for its steady growth and profit margin. That's what led to Steve Jobs, Apple's co-founder CEO. A few years ago, when Apple's sales were still stuck at five per cent, he told a crowd "What's wrong with being BMW or Mercedes?" ■



GETTING on point was "something I've been anxious about for a very long time," says Lee

## TYING THE KNOT

For some women, tubal ligation is the only real way to avoid pregnancy

Leana had her tubes tied last year. It was necessary, she says, for her "peace of mind."

While Lee's own doctor was "supportive," women who are young, single and childless frequently have trouble finding a willing doctor, reports Ottawa-based sex therapist Sue McGeorge. "The new ones think you don't do that as a single woman, they'll find a man and want to have babies. I find it incredibly patronizing." While young women seeking sterilization might encounter similar problems, eventually it seems to be more difficult for

**BY KATE MURPHY** • On the morning of May 23, 29-year-old Lee Wang had her tubes tied. After the surgery was over, and she could be away the would never bear children, what Lee felt was an overwhelming sense of relief. She remembers later, she's still feeling it. "Pregnancy is something I've been anxious about for a very long time," says Lee, a graduate student at Toronto's York University. "I felt this was right for me—this is how I want to live."

Tubal ligation is a surgical sterilization procedure (the WHO puts a failure rate of 0.5 per cent) that removes certain sections and leaves about 30-40 percent, thereby reducing sperm count. With around one in 166 patients experiencing complications, tubal ligation is either then made sterilization (sterilization), and while tubal ligation can sometimes be reversed, it does require a difficult operation that's not always successful. For that reason, experts insist, it should be considered permanent.

That's exactly what happened to Lee, and the wife also at not wanting kids, a 2011 survey found over nine per cent of Canadian women 20 to 34 felt the same. While many among them might not seek a permanent solution, some—Lee included—want their birth control methods to be totally, irrevocably, and altogether temporary. For Leana, 35 (who asked for her real name not to be used), an oral contraceptive would have ensured that she keep a child, rather than resort to abortion or adoption, should she get pregnant—something she wanted to avoid at all cost.

## YOUNG, SINGLE AND CHILDLESS WOMEN OFTEN HAVE TROUBLE FINDING A WILLING DOCTOR

women. "[My wife and I] chose vasectomy because there would be much less pain with it," says Lee's husband Vincent. "I was 34, and we married at 21."

Some hospitals ask that childless women under 30 get a second (or third) opinion before sterilization. Other might be seen as a physician's first. Catholic hospitals could even require the approval of a priest or priestess. One young woman who was denied the surgery by a Catholic-run hospital in Saskatchewan recently received a hysterectomy after completing to the province's human

rights commission. It's a situation that's familiar to Madeline Cooper, 45, lives since her childhood in rural Newfoundland, Cooper's been convinced the money wasn't kids of her own. At age 34, she underwent surgery to remove an ovarian tumour. "I told the doctor that since I'd be on the operating table anyway, I wanted my tubes tied," says Cooper. The doctor refused. "He told me I had to meet the right man yet. I was shocked."

Last year, Leana struggled for months to find a gynecologist in Toronto who'd tie her tubes. At one point, she even considered looking outside the country for a doctor who'd do it. "There is a lot of stigma attached to choosing a life with no children, even [in Canada]," Leana says.

But Montreal-based gynecologist Clive Ziegler says doctors have every reason to be cautious. "Certainly any woman, experienced gynecologist will turn down a young woman seeking a tubal ligation," he says. "It is in general a bad idea for women under 35." Up to one in five women who had their tubes tied at age 30 later regretted, while only one in 20 later changed their age 30 regret, according to one U.S. study. "We're all here that women who had two kids, had her tubes tied at 28, and at 39 [had] a new boyfriend and wants it reversed," Ziegler says.

Laparoscopic tubal ligation (the most common type) is the second-most frequent cause of litigation in gynecology, far more common than a failed procedure to remove an embryo or fetus. And when it comes to tubal ligation (which is usually covered by provincial health care, although reversal isn't), physicians' malpractice is the most common cause of litigation in gynecology, far more common than a failed procedure to remove an embryo or fetus. And when it comes to tubal ligation (which is usually covered by provincial health care, although reversal isn't), physicians' malpractice is the most common cause of litigation in gynecology, far more common than a failed procedure to remove an embryo or fetus.

"I tell a doctor, for \$10,000, to take a permanent action in operating room [and] take her life in her hands," Ziegler says. "I've seen women who, in terms of patient access to Canadian operating rooms, doctor sterilization surgeons remain low on Ziegler's priority list. Most regret it, says, there comes a mid-winter of cold, long-term birth control with less than ever before."

But Lee Wang isn't regret the doctor's job to decide what form of contraception is right for her. "It's up to me, the patient—decide what is the best option," she says. "It's not something I need to justify. It's how I chose to live my life." ■

### CURING DRUG ADDICTION: A DENTAL APPROACH

Could a dentist's new therapy help with drug addiction? Researchers have found that by using Zingiber officinale—added to the brain with lidocaine, the oil could help temporarily relieve the cravings for narcotics. The lidocaine was injected into the insula, a part of the brain that plays a role in drug addiction. But scientists were just using this as a drug delivery tool. It's a long way off, since drug addiction is complex and involves several parts of the brain.

# DREAMS TO DIE FOR

**From Iraq to the French Revolution, the utopian urge is driven by faith**

**BY BRIAN KETNER** • In February 2003, just weeks before the invasion of Iraq, John Gray published a magazine spoof called "For now: A Modest Proposal." Over the phone from his home in Bath, England, Gray is at pains to stress how broad his broad strokes were. "Not only did I borrow Swift's title, I went on about the need to fund psycho-therapies for stressed-out tortoisés. Yet to this day I get outraged letters of condemnation. What this shows is a loss of cultural literacy," Gray, the distinguished professor of Euro-

pean thought at the London School of Economics, may be given to the use of savage humor to make serious points, but he has a measure of the fragility of his own proposal. "All measures in human affairs can be reversed, almost instantaneously, because nature has in fact been rehabilitated."

All that is on display in Gray's now and highly controversial work, *Black Mass: Apocryphal Religion and the Death of Utopia* (Doubleday), for all its flashes of black humor, *Black Mass* is no joke. Its central theme, expressed in vivid, journalistic prose, is that "modern politics is a chapter in the history of religion."

Christianity implanted deep in the Western mind the idea that history is bringing us to a better future, and many measures, often attempted, violently, to bring this far-off day to present life. Religion's supposedly secular successors, from the French Revolution's cult of reason to Soviet Communism, simply wrapped this notion of progress in the language of science and rationality. Over the past two centuries, argues political thinker,

performed narrative of what's wrong with the world," Gray says. "the evils of religion at work." In other words, all the mass slaughter of the 20th century, practiced by secular regimes on a scale that would have made a medieval religious fanatic blush, has gone down the missionary hole. That's only possible, in Gray's opinion, because modern secularism is actually in-faith based as Christianity, sharing religion's notion that humankind can rise above its aggressive and tribal nature.

But the quarrel with the "secular fundamentalists" is not Gray's main thrust. He particularly wants to demonstrate that the Iraq protest was pure utopianism, and that its fatal flaw was the concept itself, not its

Stringfellow and more like Mr. Biggles." Gray believes that sort of magic thinking dominated the world views of both George W. Bush and Tony Blair. Gray is the bard on his own former political leader than he is on Bush, it's not quite fair to call Blair a liar, Gray writes wistfully, when "he lacks the normal understanding of truth," and believes deception in a higher cause to be no wrong. For Gray the essence of Blair is to be found in remembering the prime minister and after a pivotal meeting with then-French president Jacques Chirac. "Blair tried hard to bring Chirac around," says Gray, "but for all his faith Chirac was a realist. He kept telling Blair that civil war, not democracy, would inevitably follow invasion. Yet it was Blair, after words, who turned to an aide and said, 'That guy just doesn't get it.'"

Widespread recognition of the Iraq war as a blood-soaked folly is no doubt not

## LATELY UTOPIANISM HAS MIGRATED FROM THE POLITICAL LEFT TO THE RIGHT

pean thought at the London School of Economics, may be given to the use of savage humor to make serious points, but he has a measure of the fragility of his own proposal. "All measures in human affairs can be reversed, almost instantaneously, because nature has in fact been rehabilitated."

All that is on display in Gray's now and highly controversial work, *Black Mass: Apocryphal Religion and the Death of Utopia* (Doubleday), for all its flashes of black humor, *Black Mass* is no joke. Its central theme, expressed in vivid, journalistic prose, is that "modern politics is a chapter in the history of religion."

Christianity implanted deep in the Western mind the idea that history is bringing us to a better future, and many measures, often attempted, violently, to bring this far-off day to present life. Religion's supposedly secular successors, from the French Revolution's cult of reason to Soviet Communism, simply wrapped this notion of progress in the language of science and rationality. Over the past two centuries, argues political thinker,



GRAY takes on "secular fundamentalists," neo-classical cults and, most significantly, Iraq

gross error of planning and execution. "Would things have turned out better with decent planning? Doubtful. Planning would have meant no invasion at all." The definition of a utopian project is one that can't be realized under any circumstances. Iraq, in Gray's opinion. Not was the talk of exporting democracy a pretense for some cynical politics. "The American did also have geopolitical goals, of course, but even if they were obvious. You want to establish a secure oil supply? Then why are you warring in a way that ensures the destruction of the oil infrastructure?" Paul Wolfowitz, the architect of it all, fervently said Iraqis would pay for the invasion. Now he looks less like De-

arest a return to more sober and peaceful global relations. For the first time since the 19th century, the world's ruling powers are seeking secure states, and the world's pre-eminent democratic state is governed by an ideologue instead of a realist like a revolutionary regime—ready to launch pre-emptive foreign wars and subject its enemies to violence, all the while eroding democratic freedoms. Worst of all, writes Gray, the way secular utopianism ended—defeated by apocalyptic religion—means the latter has "re-emerged, asked and answered, as a force in world affairs." The defense of liberal democracy will be difficult, Gray warns, and the eventual first step will be to rid ourselves of delusional thinking. ■



## leave the rest to us™

Business travel can be truly exhausting. Making time for yourself is the perfect way to put work behind you and unwind. A little one on one, a comfy bed and warm kindly service from Ramada Hotels is all you need to wake up refreshed and ready to put the full court press on the next business deal. So give yourself a break, give yourself some Ramada.



over 650 locations

ramada.ca  
1-800-2Ramada

**RAMADA**  
WORLDWIDE





## THE BACK PAGES

**film**

Denzel's turn as Godfather: **PAGE**

**books**

Rightman Wong's wrong: **PAGE**

**music**

Canada's comeback tour: **PAGE**

**taste**

In oyster with a Game name: **PAGE**

**lame**

Go dancing: **PAGE**

# THE TABS: NO MEN ALLOWED

Why do the gossip rags only feature women when there are so many stories of male stars behaving badly?

BY JAMIE J. WEINMAN

## media

Is there a double standard in celebrity gossip? If not, why do gossip publications more readily go after women than men? Even though most of the biggest movie stars are men, when you're leafing through *Us Weekly* or *Star* or the dozens of other celebrity trash sources, you mostly read about the tribulations of being women like Lindsay Lohan, or dead ones like Princess Diana.

Bonnie Fuller, editor of the popular *Us Weekly* tabloid magazine, says they don't yet have "a big male star who's going to have crossover appeal to both sexes." But even given a star the broadest appeal, apparently, it's being a woman and being in trouble. Though you'll read about celebrity crimes in gossip magazines—Fuller says that *Real* (p. 16) is "integral to the dynamic" of the beloved *Real* magazine cover stories—you'll rarely read about men getting into trouble. At least not without women like *Los Angeles* police officer Jennifer Aniston to get their name in the trouble.

Of course, sometimes a male star goes so spectacularly wrong that the gossip magazines have no choice but to feature him. But they seem to do it almost grudgingly. When Owen Wilson was arrested for drunk driving in August, TMZ.com, which started up in 2005 and almost exclusively

because the *Los Angeles* and *Los Angeles* tabloid magazines, gave remarkably little attention to the story, even though it was one of the first items to break it in the first place. After reporting on the basic facts of the case, TMZ and its founder and editor, Harvey Levin, started moving on to other subjects, doing very little to investigate the reasons for Wilson's depression. *Gawker* was, while that covers the world of gossip coverage, pointed out how different this was from TMZ's lavishly 24-hour coverage of Lindsay Lohan and her arrest for cocaine possession. "Why aren't they wondering so on Harvey [Lohan]?" wrote Dorca Shaffer on *Gawker* com. "Why haven't they asked in 'friends' and his lawyers and anyone who ever took a crap within a 10-mile radius of her?"

The gossip magazines themselves are unwittingly offering some hard statistical evidence that they just don't care about men. TMZ.com has a list on its website of various celebrities and the number of times they've been the main focus of a post. As of Oct. 15, 2007, *Entertainment Weekly* searched the site with 791 mentions, followed

by Paris Hilton at 757, Anne Nicole Smith at 448 (even though she's been dead for a large portion of TMZ's existence), and Lindsay Lohan at 407. Not among them, Mel Gibson (only, with only 67 mentions).

Even celebrity weblogs themselves are starting to restrict links to about a possible imbalance in their own coverage. Ian Penning, the veteran gossip columnist, pointed out in prior that photos of Matthew McConaughey falling down drunk were being treated with indignance and even amusement, whereas the same photos would have caused a Lindsay Lohan to be "bounced out of control temp." In an interview with *Marleah*, Smith adds that there are other male celebrities who aren't getting a rough enough ride from her profession. "When Robert Downey Jr. was arrested for drugs, once and over, and eventually went to jail, his problems did not receive one-tenth of the heat and light that has been made of Lohan. Paris Hilton, Lindsay Lohan, Nicole Richie and Britney Spears for their drunk-driving and drug addictions."

It's not as if this has always been the way of the gossip world; only a decade ago, celeb rags did a little more evenly spread around. Cherie Sheen was a major gossip star back in the '90s, when he admitted to having no previous involvement with the establishment of "Hollywood Madman" *Weekend Update*. Now he's a bigger star than he was then, and the women of his list since then and a *Hollywood* tabloid the *New York Post* that they have their episodes on Sheen's detached lifestyle, but he's no longer a source of tabloid stories. Tom Cruise was once able to make the covers of tabloids on his own, when questions arose about his sex life or his sexuality, now, in keeping with Fuller's statement about the dominance of couples, he only gets written about in part of a couple, "Tom and Katie." As if his worst behavior would be lost if he weren't married to the girl from *Dennis Quaid*.

Why don't gossip publications focus on men? One reason may be simply that most readers of gossip (in print and online) are women, and gossip writers think that women prefer to read about other women. "Feminine interest in the tabloid industry is geared toward women," says Rebecca Anagnostou, editor of *gossip.com*. "If you're a man, you're not the focus of the story."

—JAMIE J. WEINMAN

**GOSSIPITY SPIN:** Lindsay Lohan, Paris Hilton, Britney Spears and Nicole Richie leave little room for Matthew McConaughey

George Clooney as a hangarman, and I'm not saying he is, it's inside the fantasy of him. Women who do these magazines, at least subconsciously, imagine themselves as part of this world. They want the man to be Prince Charming, and the women to be evil seductresses." Fuller makes a similar point, insisting that Star's coverage is driven by the fact that women "have an innate interest in other women," particularly young and famous ones.

And though Fuller says that "I can assure you if some thing happened with Brad Pitt or George Clooney, it would get a lot of attention," in practice, Star and other publications are usually hungry for information about minor stars, as long as they're women. Fursi Hudson and Nicole Richie haven't achieved any success beyond a mildly popular reality show; Spears was once a big star but her sexiness, even without her, has been able to make a movie a hit on her own.

So one thing that drives the negative coverage of female celebrities is that the readers of these tabloid/entertainment magazines want to know women more than they love male ones—meaning that they're disappointed yet fascinated as men fall from grace. "Beyoncé was just as long for so many women," Fuller says. "She was the epitome of what girls wanted to grow up to be and what parents wanted their daughters to be." The same thing happened with Lindsay Lohan, Fuller explains. "She was a role model for young women, and the fact that her life took such a dramatic turn into a number of troubles over the course of her career." Owen Wilson's fall doesn't affect Fuller's readers as directly or personally. "They like him, he's been in a lot of movies, but he's not someone who's been on the cover as far."

And yet it raises the question of why Owen Wilson, a hard living celebrity in his own right, wasn't on the covers a lot, and why his recent collapse came as a surprise surprise. Lindsay Lohan, on the other hand, was a tabloid story even before her problems spun out of control. Fuller says that Lohan has been a cover star ever since "she had an eating disorder, which a lot of young women relate to." The tabloids will cover a man's decline and fall after a崩潰, with women, their readers want to know that decline as a warning, and speculate about who will be the next woman to meet Lindsay or Britney's fate.

Does that mean that men can never become tabloid villains? Yes, they can—but unlike women, they can't become villains for being

too hard or too fast; they have to display racism or bigotry to get on the front pages. TMZ managed to wreck Michael Richards' career with one blabby callous video. Few people were interested in Mel Gibson's drunk driving, but when he made anti-Semitic comments while being arrested, that was enough to make it a major story. Maybe TMZ would have paid more attention to Jeffrey Starbuck if he had said something about minority groups; instead, all he did was go to prison for drunk driving, so no one cares.

Put it all together, and you can see why the press is covering the purpose of tabloids

**MEN MAKE THE TABLOIDS WHEN THEY SHOW INTOLERANCE. OTHERWISE IT'S BOYS WILL BE BOYS.**



OWEN WILSON became a story after his sister's collapse. Robert Downey Jr. (left)

allowed to do anything they want, they do have a lot more leeway than women when it comes to the things that papers usually cover, like sex and booze. It's still more of a taboo-breaking when women do these things, rather than men. "I've read tabloids myself, having been banned back in 1992, and I find even I am more shocked by films or photographs of women misbehaving than by men."

Fuller is hopeful that there will be more guy-related news for the cover, but she notes that "there really hasn't been a major new male star who can draw men and women to the box office or the TV screen. The closest there is is Zac Efron." But of course, it wasn't Zac Efron who was the big tabloid story recently; it was his highly filmed biographical movie *Twelve*. For the release of a male photo. That's what gossip writers want to know about: which women are still behaving today. ■

#### STEYN/BESTSELLERS

This week's best-selling list at [www.macleans.ca/books](http://www.macleans.ca/books). Maclean's will return next week.



**STOP THE PRESSES... MICROPHONES AND HAMMERS**  
"To The Mayhem: Behind the Microphone" ("Bovver"), last week's lead hitman Norman Shaw was "too consumed" to appear on an edition of Radio 4's *Today* program. While this was reported in great faith, we have accepted that it was untrue. The BBC was unable to get him to a studio in time to broadcast. We apologise to Professor Shaw. —The Guardian, Oct. 20, as reported by [regulathemur.com](http://regulathemur.com)

## FOR A SELECT FEW, GIFT-GIVING HAS ITS ISSUES



GIVE THE GIFT OF MACLEAN'S AT [WWW.MACLEANS.CA/GIFTS](http://WWW.MACLEANS.CA/GIFTS)



**BUILDING A BRAND** Washington in *American Gangster*. Lucas, who imports 'Blaze Magic' in collusion of U.S. soldiers killed in Vietnam

## Black Power gets its own Godfather

**Denzel finds heroism in heroin as he dignifies the Harlem drug lord they called Super Fly**

**BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON** • American heroism works in strange ways. Denzel Washington has given his most powerful performance portraying legendary figure fighting racial injustice—first in Malcolm X, then as Auden "Hurricane" Carter. Both films, he was the best out of an Oscar in the movies became success of political controversy. Washington finally won Best Actor for playing a corrupt narcotics cop (the over-the-top) Younger (a-ha) a cop who the Academy could love to hate. Now he's on Oscar's radar again as the finest New York and Italian in an epic that poses a choice game with a job of violence. *Black Power* in *American Gangster*, he creates a warmly sympathetic portrait of Frank Lucas, a vicious drug lord who ruled Harlem during the 1970s and the end of the Mafia by importing pure heroin directly from Southeast Asia via U.S. troops in Vietnam.

This is a black gangster movie we haven't seen before. It's a difficult race from the black-belted film of the early '70s, like *Shaft* and *Super Fly*, and from the current gangster rappers' dach. Even though the old Frank Lucas called himself Super Fly in honor of the film, *American Gangster* recasts him as a mythic crime lord in the grander tradition of Don Vito Corleone or Tony Soprano—a patriarch who covers vicious cruelty with old values of loyal allegiance and extended capabilities. Lucas was a killer who married crime less often. Now he's an equal opportunity king of the American Dream, a showrunner's son from a North Carolina school who grew up to be the King of Harlem.

As *American Gangster* marks a dubious civil rights milestone, Black America finally gets *Brown-Goldfish* Fox's long time, Washington's tradition to take the role, reluctant

to glorify a drug lord. But that's exactly what he ends up doing. He brings an august nobility to the character. Lucas' agonies with Harlem crime boss Ronny (Jablonka), who's a friend and has been turned to film like *Shogun*, *Super Fly* and *Harlem*. When Ronny dies blending in his people's arms, you can see the heart being gained. "He taught me to take any time, to be a gentleman," Lucas explains. "He was just as important as Martin Luther King."

Really? That's pretty flimsy support. Directed by Ridley Scott, *American Gangster* is based on the *Business of Superfly*, a New York magazine profile of Lucas by Mark Jacobson, who also wrote the script with Steven Kailash (Schindler's List, *Gangster New York*). But the film also tells the story of Richie Roberts (Russell Crowe), the best (and only) FBI prosecutor who brought Lucas down while resisting the temptations of a corrupt New York anti-drug squad. So we end up with a cross between *Soyuz* and *The Godfather*. As Crowe and Washington play out a game of cat and mouse, their stories run on parallel tracks, merging only at the end, when these two Oscar-winning stars finally meet for the big showdown, much like Robert De Niro and Al Pacino in *Heat*.

In this double-helix narrative, you end up rooting for both characters, who are like

inverted mirror images. Roberts is an unprovoked sinner who sleeps with anything that moves, including his diverse lawyer. Lucas is a well-dressed, charming pillar of the underworld who loves his wife and tries to make crime respectable. But they're both scrupulous in their own way and obsessed with honesty. Outraged by his corrupt colleagues, Roberts is drawn for having turned in his million of drug money that he found in the trunk of a car. As for Lucas, "the most important thing in business is honesty," he says. "I own my own company that sells a product that's better than the competition at a price that's lower." The product is "Blaze Magic"—high grade heroin shipped special delivery in false-bottomed coffins of American soldiers killed in Vietnam.

Although *American Gangster* is too long, at over 2½ hours, it's rich in excitement. And the final showdown scene is electrifying. As with any good drag-load flick, God is on the details. Menacing *Blaze Magic*, Scott scores an assembly hall montage with *Mad Men*, *I'm Gonna*, cranking the heroin trail from the jungle in the story, from a warehouse of naked babes cutting smack on a white powder haze to the jazz nightclubs and punka stans. Meanwhile, Joe Louis, Mohammed Ali and Richard Nixon come and go in history with unbridled on black-and-white TV in smolder-filled rooms. And when the smoke clears, both supercop and aspirational walk our horses. Only in America. ■



### WE'RE STALKING LIONARDO DICAPRIO

One of his previous avatars when he was *OGAN* was losing his virginity. Russell Crowe worked with DiCaprio's on a film in the 1990s and says he complained about being a virgin. "He talked about it constantly," Crowe says. Since then DiCaprio has dated supermodels and now Crowe wants to catch up on DiCaprio's love life. "I'm hoping he can tell me what's happened," Crowe says. "Maybe show some photos."

# LEGENDS IN THE MAKING

CONTEST

**AGILE**  
Solving problems like a team is fun!

**WINNER**  
Achieved his/her goals and goals!

**NIMBLE**  
With the power of a team is fun!

**DETERMINED**  
Let's go for the top of the team!

**FAST**  
Let's go for the top of the team!

**CX-9**  
2008 CX-9. It's a crowd-winning competitor for the best of the best. And it's also the most powerful 273 hp V6 and 2008 CX-9. It's a crowd-winning competitor for the best of the best. And it's also the most powerful 273 hp V6 and 2008 CX-9.

**THUNDER**  
2008 Thunder. It's a crowd-winning competitor for the best of the best. And it's also the most powerful 273 hp V6 and 2008 Thunder.

**ENTER YOUR CHILD TO WIN ONE OF TEN \$2,500 CASH AWARDS.**

Upload a video or photo of your child playing his or her favorite sport, and your child could win.

Enter your little legend at [legendsinthemaking.co](http://legendsinthemaking.co)

**legendsinthemaking.co**

Contest ends December 31, 2007. Open to Canadian residents over the age of majority including residents of Quebec. Minorities must be the parent or legal guardian of the child/children entering. Maximum number of photos is 30 and video of their child/children playing their favorite sport. 100 weekly prizes of \$2,500 cash are to be won by all winners. Visit [www.legendsinthemaking.co](http://www.legendsinthemaking.co) for entry information and full rules. Odds of winning depend on the number of eligible entries received. Mathematical drawing of prizes to be won only intended to win. No purchase necessary.



www.sinefoodsoftheworld.com

Your on-line source for  
exquisite gourmet foods

1-800-863-8300

Visit our website and discover a great  
selection of culinary treats from around  
the world. Delivery is easy, secure  
and your satisfaction is guaranteed.

## CELTIC QUEST 2008

FROM GUELPH TO GLASGOW  
KUSHED THE MUI FÉOI

APRIL 20 - MAY 11, 2008



Line 3, Canada 800-363-7566

WWW.EVENTURECANADA.COM

AMSTERDAM, AMSTERDAM, AMSTERDAM

## Cheating the TaxMan?



## We protect you!

- Gulfed back taxes
- Unreported income
- Unreported foreign income
- Hidden assets

## The DiGuardi AmnestifyX

Unemployment for individuals can help  
you remedy your tax situation with:

- Protection from prosecution and penalties
- Lawyer-client confidentiality guaranteed

www.DiGuardi.ca  
1-877-TAXES-02

Canada's Premier Tax Services

TO LEARN ABOUT ADVERTISING OPPORTUNITIES  
PLEASE CONTACT  
AD SALES OFFICE: 800-468-4686/4686YOU CAN DO IT  
ALL  
ONLINEMaclean's online customer service is secure, fast and  
available 24/7. Plus, get Storyline, Maclean's free weekly  
e-newsletter when you sign up online.

- Subscribe or renew
- Order gift subscriptions
- Pay your bill
- Purchase back issues
- Check account status
- Read Privacy Policy
- Convert to a digital subscription
- Join Advisory Panel
- Change mailing address

www.macleans.ca/service

MACLEAN'S  
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL

TASTE, TASTE: A fish's remnant of periwinkle mushrooms, with a slight metallic edge, taste even less than oyster aficionados

## A bivalve revival for the 2010 games

The Olympia oyster could be a huge hit, if  
Olympic organizers give it a shucking breakBY MICHAEL KÖRNER • This spring, the  
Olympia oyster once harvested from  
British Columbia's coast and over-  
indulged—much of it driven by gold rushes  
in California and the Klondike, where pro-  
prietors ate them fresh with eggs—drives to  
the precipice. Today, British Columbia's only  
native bivalve remains obscure, a species of  
concern to the federal government, and of  
little value to most B.C. oyster farmers, who  
prefer harder Japanese varieties. But now  
some are attempting to engineer a comeback  
for the Olympia—and soon it may be the most  
valuable Vancouver oyster. The question is, will  
the plan make it past trademark-conscious  
Olympic organizers?For those who love it, the Olympia—about  
the length of your thumb from the joint down,  
never bigger than a loonie—in a kind of fish-  
"It's like drinking a 25- or 30-year-old  
Lagavulin," says Brian Petkau, the B.C. shell  
fish farmer at the centre of efforts to bring it  
back. "There's a little bit of ocean sea salt,  
then a hint of a nut or a sweet cream," says  
Patrick McHenry, of Toronto's Seafood Oyster  
Bed & Grill, one of just a few raw bars in  
Canada to serve the oyster. Chris Field, of  
Whisper's Seafood & Oyster, calls it "a uniquely  
firm fish that for the most you actually know  
you're chewing something—and it's got a dis-  
tinct remnant of periwinkle mushrooms,  
with a slight metallic edge."Such taste and solidity require years to  
develop, increasing the Olympia's cost. "It's  
as hard to grow something the size of a quarter,  
say it's twice as much as most in-  
ternational oysters—but when they taste it they'll  
understand," says McHenry, who like all  
Canadian oyster farmers must import the oysters  
from Washington state. Farmers in B.C. tendto shuck the oyster in small and slow-growing  
"Hem d'ung" fish, "Robert's version of the  
B.C. Seafood Growers Association says  
Petkau, "to kind of a novelty effort." Petkau  
agrees—but says that's part of the charm. "It's  
challenging to grow—because we use a 15-year  
old oyster," he says. "What I'm trying to do  
here is rejuvenate an indigenous species."Reindeer, fast-talking, with the energy of a  
whirling dervish, Petkau is an oyster show-  
man. Billed himself as the "Oyster Man," he  
delights in going away "I'm not a biochemist  
with his rings (looking like a cross between  
Che Guevara and the Big Zag rolling paper  
man) underwritten with the words, "Join the  
oyster revolution." Some years ago, Petkau  
has upon the idea of reintroducing the Olym-  
pia oyster during the Vancouver 2010 games—  
a lead of "showpiece oyster for the Olym-  
pia"—and on about trying to produce local  
stock. It was to slow in advertising. Now, with  
the Games just three years away, it may be  
too late. "In terms of the Olympics, it's like  
you're selling a major disaster—and it's  
due by tomorrow," he says, though he's not  
above importing Washington-based Olym-  
pia for the occasion. "It's going to be in the  
2010 games, encouraging everybody—hey,  
an oyster day will keep the drug-store  
away," says Petkau.

Yet there may be a hurdle beyond mere

taste: a federal law passed in June aimed at  
protecting investors who spent billions to  
become official Olympic sponsors. The law  
grants Olympic organizers vast powers to  
stop "unsubstantiated" claims from using the  
game associated with the Games—including  
words like "Olympic." "It's tricky," even "win-  
ning"—as all goods (those passed in 2011)  
"It's to make sure only the IOC and whoever  
it authorizes will be able to use the prestige of  
the Olympics in Vancouver to promote  
their products—they don't want anyone else  
to be able to piggyback on that effort," says  
Mira Khandani Rajan, an intellectual property  
expert at the University of British Columbia  
Ora Vancouver essay—the Olympia Khandani  
must—has fought for three years to keep a  
trademark sign up since the mid-1990s, de-  
fended by those famous Olympic rings.Efforts to associate the Olympia sym-  
bolized for the Washington mountain range  
with the Vancouver 2010 Olympics could  
draw similar scrutiny "Given the Oyster for  
Winter 2010," that might be enough of an  
association to make it a no-go," Khandani  
Rajan says. There's a chance, says Petkau (of  
Crested Island) relies the prospect of dealing  
with the Games—for him the perfect vehicle  
for advertising his niche product. "I'll just  
call them 'The Oysters,'" he says. Field, of  
the Winter Island shucker who plans to  
showcase Petkau's oysters in 2010, has a bet-  
ter idea. "My answer to the Olympic com-  
mittee would be: 'Bite me.'"

## TODAY'S SPECIAL... AEROLOX PANCAKE BATTER

Politicians in a hurry to get through pancake breakfasts will thank  
the day that Beller Bitter was invented. It's pancake batter inside  
an air respirator, the same kind used for welders or miners. Aerolox  
cooks just under the cap, puffs it in a griddle and spreads the  
mixture. Our special mix pancake batter that cooks up like regular  
flour. Each can makes eight pancakes and they're certified  
by the U.S. Department of Agriculture as organic.



**GALLIC SYMBOL** For her, a public divorce was a statement. For him, it seemed as a distraction from a strike that shut down most of France.

## A French divorce, American-style

**Infidelity was once met with a shrug, but the Sarkozys have their reasons for going public**

**BY ROZALIND MILES** • It's and, but it happens. Like Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford, Deanna and Charlie, the Sarkozys have come to the end of their marriage, and will part. Divorce at the great aviator, after death. But why are the French president and his first lady handling their messy life like Peyton Place from the 1950s?

"Everyone's been told Americans," says Kelly Friedman. France laughs loudly, almost bawls and fast food, but the battle has now fallen to the women of the soap. Infidelity is Paris Men's phone sex, your little and revenge affairs, Cécile and Nicolas Sarkozy are doing divorce American-style. Cécile can't get the bad, the ugly or you-gotta-be-joking, but there's no law here.

For now the Sarkozys and Elisabeth Taylor, divorce from the ongoing news of their career, and the tabloids are necessary attendees at a celebrity bup. Why else would Cécile waste their energy without an audience? Paul McCartney came out of divorce negotiations with wife, Heather, stating eight papers for the cameras. Charlie Sheen, treating his wife, "Go cry to your bald man, you f---ing loser," side-swiped her career-suffering mother as well. The divorce of the Sarkozys won't be half as headline-grabbing unless she's been seeing other women, or he's being nasty to her son. They'll be, perhaps, or Yvonne the Impaler, Putin himself.

No such luck for the gossip rag. But why are the Sarkozys doing this? Perhaps they want to work the relations and forced entry of celebrity to win 15 minutes of fame, but these are serious people, players in the real world. She deck with the ludicrous but Infidels to free the movie industry in L'Espresso, and he's running France. They hardly need

the publicity. So what's the explanation to the cameras?

The French used to be so cool about these things. Private lives were private, and infidelity didn't matter. And when everyone accepted that the divorce of marriage was so heavy that it was not to carry them, and often there. A global Gallic disdain greeted any overt prosecution with us. The cocktail, the one-on-one and the Parisian people were far travelled from us another lands. The French had even less interest in the sex lives of their politicians, protected by stringent privacy laws forming a cordons sanitaire around their assets.

So even de Gaulle had affairs in his early days. President Mitterrand used to go out on the prowl with his foreign minister, Roland Dumas, achieving the rare double of cheating on his wife and his mistress at the same time. But at his funeral, the mistress, Anne Pignatelli, stood with her arms crossed, daughter, Madame, next to Mitterrand's wife, Danielle, and her sons, and the French were outraged not by the hairy porky but by the publicity, seen as demeaning to the family and the country alike.

Going public with all the dirt, the Sarkozys are playing a different game. Nasty high-profile divorce is nothing new. The fresh fact here is a fearless political wife, strong

enough to do what she wants. In the bad old days, Eleanor Roosevelt was buffed out of leaving the fatless FDR, though his treatment of her made today like domestic abuse. Hillary Clinton had to forgive Bill, or they were both finished.

Not now. A reluctant feminist like all French women except Simone de Beauvoir, Cécile has struck a blow for modern womanhood by declaring her independence from the traditional notion of the husband's primary importance in married life. She doesn't care about his career in his ego, she won't define her life to support him, and like Barbara Mili McGarry, refusing any financial offer from Paul that comes with a confidentiality clause, she won't be gagged.

Nicolas too has been playing the gossip game, apparently ready to see the lives of France's first couple become casualties of the loss of old European dignity and the death of the Gallic shrug. And with the French media behaving like the National Enquirer by publishing the details of their divorce, both Sarkozys stood to gain. She could pose herself as a real sexy and sensible spin, while he used it to deflect attention from a game which looked down most of France. But those who ride the media can risk as much. Kelly Dickinson declared that "Paris is all we know of Heaven, and all we need of Hell," but there's one thing worse: the voyeuristic, cannibalistic attention of the tabloids focused on all in us and ours. ■



ON NEWSSTANDS MAY 22, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS JULY 15, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS SEPT. 29, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS NOV. 17, 2006



ON NEWSSTANDS MAY 11, 2007



ON NEWSSTANDS JULY 28, 2007



**MACLEAN'S MADONNA**  
You want music? This is it. Middle-aged, Madonna has been transformed in a new issue of Maclean's, taking fourth place on a list of the world's hottest women. The magazine excoriated her for "bellybitching and rapid post-nuptial deterioration," for "accessorizing" with an African baby, and for resembling "William DeWitt with hot flashes." At least she's not in first place: that went to Sarah Jessica Parker, whose editors likened to racialist Secretariat.

APPARENTLY YOU'RE NOT THE ONLY ONE READING MACLEAN'S.

**MACLEAN'S**  
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL

These names and magazine covers are the property of their respective owners.





 Mac



**The new iMac.** A complete high-performance computer, inside a stunning all-in-one aluminium design. From \$1299.\*

©2007 Apple Inc. \*MSRP 2.0GHz 24" model shown. Prices subject to change, don't include taxes/shipping. 1-800-MY-APPLE or visit [www.apple.ca/imac](http://www.apple.ca/imac)